

1995

All Sorts of China Ware Large, Noble and Rich Chinese Bowls: Eighteenth-Century Chinese Export Porcelain in Virginia

David andrew Madsen
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"ALL SORTS OF CHINA WARE...LARGE, NOBLE AND RICH CHINESE
BOWLS": EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHINESE EXPORT PORCELAIN IN
VIRGINIA

A Thesis
Presented To
The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Andrew David Madsen
1995

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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Approved, April 1995

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I dedicate this thesis to Lady Margaret Thatcher, Chancellor of the College of William and Mary. I have always been inspired by her strength, perseverance and fierce dedication to the ideals of liberty as expressed by our founding fathers.

"Thus as we stand upon the threshold of a new century, we confront a world in which the common sense of George Washington's generation is too often dismissed or denied. Our generation has gone a long way towards unlearning history. The great and abiding truths are sometimes reduced to little more than quaint artifacts, appropriate to the time they were written, but of little or no relevance to our day.

This historical conceit, for that is what it is has been worsened by another pernicious premise of our century, moral relativism. The idea that there is no truth to know has become a troubling feature of some schools of thought in this century. Indeed, to those of us who believe passionately in the value of education it is an appalling thought that education could be used to subvert and mock the very possibility of a knowable truth.

All too frequently as a result of such doctrines, contemporary education, in the name of humanity has ignored those things which most distinguish human nature."

Lady Margaret Thatcher, Chancellor of the College of William and Mary, excerpt from a speech delivered February 4th, 1994 at William and Mary Hall on the campus of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This finished thesis could not have been completed without the selfless council, advice, suggestions, and input of many people who I am grateful to have had the honor of working with. My parents, David and Jennifer, during my academic years at both the University of California and the College of William and Mary have offered their unqualified support of my work, and have encouraged me throughout the many challenges of writing of this thesis. Mr. George L. Miller initially infused me with the suggestion to research eighteenth-century Chinese export porcelain, while Dr. Marley Brown III offered me his advice, suggestions, and had more patience while I modified my ideas than any professor should be expected to have. Dr. Norman Barka critically evaluated my draft, offered excellent suggestions and has assisted in making the final product what it is.

As this thesis took shape two scholars of Chinese wares, Mr. David S. Howard and Mr. Richard Kilburn took a particular interest in my research, and their assistance in helping to educate me as to the enormous corpus of information concerning Chinese export wares was invaluable. Their selfless attention to this thesis, their suggestions, and input and interest in historical archaeology kept me enthused and this project could not have been completed without their assistance.

There were many other people who aided me in my research, and I owe each of them a debt of gratitude. Without their assistance this work could not have been completed: Ms. Esther White and Mr. Dennis J. Pogue of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association; Mr. David Riggs, Curator, Colonial National Historical Park - Jamestown Island, National Park Service; Dr. Sue Grosboll, Collections Manager, Office of Archaeological Documentation - Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Ms. Lysbeth Acuff, Chief Curator, Virginia Department of Historic Resources; Staff of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library; Ms. Susan Shammass, Librarian, Decorative Arts Library - Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Mr. Bernard de Maisonneuve, Association de Recherche Historique Maritime et Sous-Marine, France; Mrs. David S. Howard, Heirloom and Howard, Chippenham, England for her gracious hospitality; Mrs. Richard Kilburn, Windsor, England for her patience as Mr. Kilburn and I discussed Chinese export wares late into the night; Mr. David Madsen, my father, for his excellent illustrations of many of the decorative motifs discussed; and Ms. S. Fiona Bessey, for her patience while I labored over this work, and for her detailed and critical reading of my draft.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis documents, identifies, dates, and describes eleven of the most common, easily identifiable and chronologically significant attributes of underglaze blue and white, and overglaze enamelled eighteenth-century Chinese export porcelain.

This study also shows how the inclusion of Chinese porcelain in the calculation of a mean ceramic date, using the South date range of 1660-1800 for all Chinese porcelain can give an early and erroneous mean date. Stanley South's *mean ceramic date* formula can be improved upon by using the dates researched and documented in this study. A test example of this study's application will focus on illustrating how a more accurate mean ceramic date can be arrived at for the Dr. Barraud trash pit in Williamsburg.

Research by historical archaeologists in the area of chronological refinement of date ranges for eighteenth-century Chinese export porcelain has remained static for years. Recent archaeological scholarship continues to assign the seemingly hopelessly wide date range of 1660-1800 for underglaze blue and white, as well as overglaze enamelled Chinese porcelain (South 1993:97). This study makes strides towards refining the date ranges for eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain. Due to firmly held misconceptions concerning this important ceramic ware type, archaeologists have largely assumed that it exhibited few recognizable, and datable changes in style and decorative motif over time. This lack of chronological refinement, has severely limited the interpretive value of Chinese porcelain in attempts to tie specific historical figures to archaeological deposits within a site, and further hampers the archaeologist's ability to gain a window on eighteenth-century colonial Virginia culture. Stanley South's *Mean Ceramic Date* formula, still employed regularly by historical archaeologists (Steen 1989; White 1991; Gerrard 1993; Triggs 1993; Vrooman 1994), gives such a broad date range for both underglaze blue and white and overglaze enamelled Chinese export porcelain, 1660-1800 so as to make the inclusion of Chinese porcelain in the calculation of a mean ceramic date, relatively useless.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction and Statement of Purpose, Chronological Refinement: The Key to Archaeological Analysis and the Understanding of Culture Process.

Introduction: The goals of this Master of Arts thesis:

This study describes, identifies, dates and illustrates seventeen of the most chronologically important decorative motifs and color palettes on eighteenth-century Chinese export porcelain. Chapter two contains a brief introduction to the historical background of Chinese porcelain manufacture, the Chinese porcelain trade, and the impact of Chinese porcelain on the West. Chapter three contains detailed descriptions, illustrations and photographs of seventeen of the most chronologically significant and archaeologically commonly found changes in decorative motif, style and color palette during the eighteenth-century. Chapter four illustrates how a revised chronology of eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain can enable historical archaeologists to advance beyond Stanley South's date range of 1660-1800, for underglaze blue and white and overglaze enamelled Chinese porcelain, while Chapter five offers conclusions and suggestions for future research.

The Need for Chronological Refinement of Eighteenth-Century Chinese Export Porcelain:

The Stanley South mean ceramic date analysis of the Dr. Barraud trash pit in Williamsburg, Virginia is a case in

point for the need of a tighter chronology of eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain. Due to the large quantity of Chinese porcelain found within the Dr. Barraud trash pit, and the rather general date range for underglaze blue and white and overglaze enamelled Chinese porcelain, 1660-1800, the mean ceramic date range for the Dr. Barraud trash pit was thrown off to such a degree as to make the use of Chinese porcelain in the calculation of the mean ceramic date largely worthless. The ceramic analysis indicated a mean date of approximately 1770, when the historic documentation indicates that Dr. Barraud did not set foot on the property until about 1783, and remained there until he moved to Norfolk, Virginia in 1792.

With the knowledge that the South date range 1660-1800 for underglaze blue and white and overglaze enamelled Chinese porcelain is far too broad, many historical archaeologists using the South method will purposefully not include the presence of Chinese porcelain in calculating the mean ceramic date, thereby limiting the usefulness of Chinese porcelain to the ceramic analysis.

The recalculation of the mean ceramic date for the Dr. Barraud ceramic assemblage, using the date ranges for the color palettes and decorative motifs on Chinese porcelain which are documented and illustrated in this study will illustrate the validity and usefulness of tighter dating for Chinese porcelain. As a direct result, the refined date

ranges will increase the usefulness of eighteenth-century Chinese wares to historic sites interpretation.

This analysis shows the importance of and role played by eighteenth-century Chinese wares in colonial Anglo-America and document the great untapped potential of Chinese porcelain to the elucidation of patterns of culture change in the archaeological record. In addition, this study illustrates the importance of Chinese porcelain in colonial Anglo-American culture, the Staffordshire ceramic industry, and world-wide trade during the eighteenth century. Chinese porcelains are an invaluable resource for the interpretation of eighteenth-century consumerism, fashion, trade and social display.

Introduction: Chronological Refinement, The Key to Understanding Past Cultures:

Seventeen years ago in his classic work, *In Small Things Forgotten*, James Deetz wrote,

"Chronology in archaeology is one of the cornerstones of all analysis. The determination of the age of this or that archaeological site is critical before any consideration of process through time can be attempted." (Deetz 1977:16)

Essential, and central to the interpretation and elucidation of cultural processes through time, is the ability for the historical archaeologist to date as precisely as possible the contexts within the historic site being excavated. Ivor Noel Hume concurs with Deetz, pointing out that, "The trick is to be able to date the artifacts..." (Noel Hume 1970:11). Historians and ceramicists have also commented on the

critical need to build and further refine chronologies of eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain wares. On this subject, Historian Dr. Julia Curtis comments that,

"The question of dating appears to me, an historian, as a critical one for the archaeologist, since the dating of individual artifacts determines to a great extent the interpretation of a site. A close study of Chinese export porcelain can be particularly useful to the archaeologist because many varieties of wares made between c.1600 and 1740 can be dated with great precision, thus providing the archaeologist with the next best thing to a dated coin" (Curtis 1988).

In this vein ceramicist and material culture expert, George L. Miller has argued that, "These chronologies (the ones currently available to historical archaeologists)...are sorely in need of refinement" (Miller 1991:2).

The ability of the archaeologist to relate specific historical personages whom it is known from the historic record occupied a specific plot of land, for a known number of years, is dependant upon the ability of the archaeologist to date as precisely as possible the archaeological artifacts, and thus the contexts, which he discovers. As James Deetz writes, "The question 'When?' is usually one of the first to be asked by the archaeologist. Since man has been littering the landscape for nearly two million years, the problem of assigning dates of reasonable accuracy to various samples of his litter is a complex one" (Deetz 1967:23). Indeed, Henry Glassie's landmark study of structuralism, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*, hinged upon the ability to place each dwelling Glassie studied, in time through the observation of nail manufacturing style. As

Glassie wrote, "...the track of technological change can be followed to suggest rough absolute dates and a plausible local relative chronology...There is no denying the need for chronology..." (Glassie 1975:73).

Further, the ability of the historical archaeologist to date with accuracy, artifacts such as ceramics, which have a relatively brief period of use, prior to being broken and discarded, enables them to make conclusions concerning whether a trash pit, or cellar, or other archaeological feature was filled in over a few years, or over decades or centuries (White 1991:46; Vrooman 1994). Thus, reliable chronologies aid greatly in the assessment, and analysis of site depositional processes over time.

Over the years, historical archaeologists have wrestled with the problem of chronological refinement as they sought to relate the characters of the past with specific features of historic sites. Landmark studies in methods, and techniques of relative dating, such as the pipe stem dating method developed by J.C. Harrington in 1954 (Harrington 1954), its further refinement by Louis Binford in 1961 (Binford 1961), as well as other scholarly works such as the one of the seriation of gravestone styles by Deetz and Dethlefsen (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966), and the seriation study of English tin-glazed earthenwares by Ellen Shlasko (1989), in which Shlasko formulated a chronology for English tin-glazed earthenwares, attest to the importance of

chronological refinement techniques as a means to further interpret past cultures, and colonial cultural systems.

Serious refinement of the chronological date ranges of Chinese export wares has the potential to unlock the immense amount of interpretive value which these wares have to offer concerning eighteenth-century archaeological sites in Anglo-America. Unlike any other ceramic ware type found in Anglo-America, with the exception of tin-glazed earthenwares, Chinese wares were produced and imported, although in varying quantities, throughout the colonial period. Such a dispersion of this ware type throughout the entire colonial period should allow for diachronic studies of households, once the wares can be dated.

For over twenty years, Stanley South's *mean ceramic date* technique as laid out in his work published in 1972 (South 1972), has been one of the most widely used methods employed by historical archaeologists to arrive at the mean occupation period of historic sites, through the use of datable ceramic types. With the belief that, "...there is a high correlation between the ceramic manufacture dates and the site occupation period" (South 1978:68), South lays out the manufacture date ranges for known ceramic ware types as a way to establish mean occupation dates. Through implementation of a mathematical formula which relies on both quantity of sherds of ceramics, as well as the known manufacture date range for the specific ware type, a mean

ceramic date indicating the median occupation date of the site is calculated.

The South mean ceramic date formula, when used in conjunction with other chronological tools, has remained a key element of archaeological analysis for the past twenty years. Scholars over the years have attacked Stanley South's mean ceramic date technique, because not all ceramic ware types are used and consequently broken with the same frequency, and as James Deetz has argued, an erroneous mean occupation date could be arrived at by having two separate occupation periods at the same site, separated in time with the mean ceramic date calculated for the period when the site was uninhabited. Taking into account the shortcomings of South's mean ceramic date formula, many scholars of historical archaeology have consistently used it and found it to be beneficial in their analyses of historic sites. The usefulness of South's mean ceramic date technique, dependant upon tight date ranges for ceramic ware type manufacture, has been used consistently for over twenty years by both past and current scholars in the field (McDaniel and Potter 1978; White 1991:43; South 1993; Gerrard 1993:233, Triggs 1993: 269; Vrooman 1994:159-182). The Stanley South mean ceramic date technique cannot be relied upon as the sole determinant of the occupation date of an historic site, but should be evaluated along with, and in addition to, any other valid chronological information, including the *terminus post quem* of the artifactual

assemblage, relevant historical documentation, and use of the Harrington pipe stem formula.

South's date ranges for both underglaze blue and white and overglaze enamelled porcelain, taken from Ivor Noel Hume's *Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (Noel Hume 1969) are a very wide, arbitrary and largely meaningless, 1660-1800. Thus, the mean ceramic date of 1730 is used for all sherds of Chinese export wares excavated from historic archaeology contexts, regardless of the decorative motif or style. The early mean date of 1730 for all historic period Chinese wares often injects error into the results of the mean ceramic date, an error which is increased if the sherds of Chinese export ware constitutes a sizeable percentage of the ceramic assemblage. In a possible effort to "laten" the mean ceramic date for Chinese porcelain included in mean ceramic date calculations to 1750, other scholars have arbitrarily chosen to use a terminal date of 1840 for all Chinese porcelain (Vrooman 1994). South cautions archaeologists that his date ranges for Chinese export porcelain, derived from Ivor Noel Hume's work, are overly broad and act as "catch-all(s)" (South 1978:71). The date ranges South uses for Chinese porcelain are so broad as to make their inclusion in his mean ceramic date formula problematic, and often useless. As a test application of his method South notes at the bottom of his chart, "Since this chart was prepared, it has been found that a more accurate date can be obtained by *not* using types 26

(Overglaze enamelled Chinese export porcelain) and 39 (Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain) with the formula" (South 1978: 72).

As well as cautioning archaeologists against inclusion of ware types with overly broad date ranges in the calculation of a mean ceramic date, South adds that his formula can be refined further and improved upon by archaeologists who can formulate tighter date ranges, thus increasing the value of the mean ceramic date formula. To this issue South writes,

"It should also be kept in mind that additional types can be added by the archaeologist who knows the manufacture dates for such types, and it may well be found that some of the longer time spans can be eliminated from consideration until such time that diagnostic temporal attributes can be determined" (South 1978:71).

Seeking to follow the suggestions proposed by South, this study seeks specifically to further refine, describe, and document in some detail the known manufacture dates for seventeen styles of blue and white, and overglaze enamelled eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain commonly found in archaeological ceramic assemblages in the mid-Atlantic region. In addition to refining the date ranges for Chinese porcelain to increase the ability of archaeologists to tie specific personages to archaeological contexts with the use of the South mean ceramic date formula, this study seeks to challenge long held ideas of archaeologists concerning the 'static' and 'unchanging' character of Chinese porcelain. This study seeks to show that Chinese porcelain styles

changed, as with any English ware type, as fashion and consumer demand dictated.

Ceramics: The Thesis, Towards a More Reliable Chronology of Eighteenth-Century Chinese Export Porcelain:

Ceramics form an integral part of site interpretation in historical archaeology. Due to their fragility, and thus often brief period of use, they commonly become part of the archaeological record only a few years after their production, purchase and use. Ceramics are invaluable as temporal indicators of site occupation as, once broken, they are not recycled, and once a part of the archaeological record, remain stable, do not easily degrade, and thus are in the same form when excavated as when they were thrown away. As James Deetz comments,

"The archaeologist attaches great importance to pottery, since ceramics is among the most informative kinds of material culture, in history and prehistory as well. Pottery is fragile, yet indestructible; while it breaks easily, the fragments are highly resistant to corrosion and discoloration...Small wonder that the analysis of ceramics sometimes occupies what might at first seem a disproportionate amount of the archaeologist's attention and time" (Deetz 1977:46).

In essence, ceramic fragments are excellent temporal indicators for archaeological interpretation and, when datable act as, "... the next best thing to a dated coin" (Curtis 1988:22). In addition, increased use of Chinese export wares among households of all economic levels in Williamsburg after 1740 (Austin 1994:27), as well as the more frequent change in decorative motif, form and ware

type, tell us much about eighteenth-century social customs, status, emulation and consumerism in colonial America.

Aside from crude assessments of relative status and economic position in life, the usefulness of Chinese porcelain to historic site interpretation has remained static for years. Although Chinese wares are commonly found on most eighteenth-century historic sites in the Mid-Atlantic region (Garner 1970; Godden 1966; Noel Hume 1970:257-265; South 1959: 34-37; South 1993:97; Curtis 1987; Curtis 1988), archaeological chronologies of Chinese porcelain have lagged far behind those for English ceramics such as Creamware and Pearlware (Miller 1987; Miller 1990). This is in part, due to an almost total lack of first-hand, primary documentation on Chinese porcelain production, of the sort we have for many of the Staffordshire potteries during the eighteenth-century. Consequently, due to the problems of documentation and firm dating of changes in Chinese porcelain motif, form and color palate research on Chinese porcelain by historical archaeologists has been almost non-existent. Many scholars of historic ceramics point to a perceived static repetition of decorative motifs which is responsible for the difficulty in dating Chinese porcelain. Ceramic scholar Ann Smart Martin comments that, "...Chinese porcelain, unlike English earthenwares, is so difficult to date with precision, is that--like the classic suit--its decorative motifs remain classic, changing little even to today" (Martin 1990:13). Commenting on the

difficulty in dating underglaze blue and white Chinese wares Ivor Noel Hume has written that, "...they are virtually impossible to date with sufficient accuracy to be useful" (Noel Hume 1969:261).

Far from a static, unchanging ware type, Chinese porcelain was a commodity continually changing as consumer demands and European fashion dictated. Supercargoes representing the various European East India Companies brought with them to Canton wood, earthenware, even silver models of European shapes which the Chinese potters faithfully and in most cases, accurately duplicated. Ceramicist and scholar of Chinese wares, Mr. David S. Howard comments with regard to the changing styles of eighteenth-century Chinese wares, "No one was interested in yesterday's hairstyles and out of date frock coats or an ancient ship. A popular Hogarth engraving must be copied at once otherwise it would not sell" (Howard 1991:20). Further contributing to the problem of dating porcelain is the fact that the body constituents and kaolin composition has changed little since the eighth-century. When establishing date ranges for Chinese porcelain, archaeologists often give an uncomfortably wide date range of 1600-1800, or 1660-1840 for all Chinese porcelain, because it is not widely known when specific decorative motifs, and color palettes were in vogue. Considering that porcelain constituted a sizable percentage of both tablewares and teawares in the more urban areas of the Chesapeake during the latter half of the

eighteenth century (Martin 1988), much more work needs to be done to increase the interpretive value of Chinese porcelain in historical archaeology.

This thesis argues that contrary to popular belief, Chinese porcelain was **not** a static, unchanging ceramic ware type used by colonial Americans. As styles, and taste dictated change in English ceramics, so too was this change in fashion reflected in the decorative motifs found on eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain.

CHAPTER II

Historical background: The Manufacture, Distribution and Sale of Chinese porcelains and the impact of Chinese porcelain on Eighteenth-Century Anglo-American Culture.

What is Chinese porcelain? Definition of Chinese porcelain and a brief description of the method of its manufacture:

It seems obvious, and a "given" to us today to be able to discuss the Chinese trade accepting the premise that Chinese porcelain was shipped to England, and then re-exported to Virginia in large quantities during the eighteenth-century. While it is my contention that the discipline of historical archaeology can benefit greatly from chronological refinement of eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain, most archaeologists, unlike many nineteenth-century ceramic scholars, can differentiate between English soft-paste and Chinese hard-paste porcelain.

For decades during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ceramic historians, connoisseurs of ceramics and ceramic collectors firmly held tight to their belief that little if any Chinese porcelains were imported to England, and that the bulk of what we recognize today as Chinese porcelain was produced in the English town of Lowestoft. Thus, this misattribution caused the coining of the misleading terms *Oriental Lowestoft*, and *Chinese Lowestoft* which were used for nearly one hundred years to describe

what we know and identify today as Chinese export porcelain, or China trade porcelain.

Ceramic scholars such as Richard Chaffers, who in 1876 published a work entitled *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain*, maintained that due to prohibitive English importation duties Chinese porcelain was not a viable commodity, and consequently there was little if any Chinese porcelain imported to England and no widespread porcelain trade. Further, Mr. Chaffers claimed that at Lowestoft in England, potters were producing a high quality hard-paste porcelain, of "almost precisely the type produced in China" (Gordon 1975:17). Mr. Chaffers contended that through a discerning evaluation of "textures" he could with success distinguish the Lowestoft from the rare Chinese porcelain.

Part of Mr. Chaffer's confusion may have arisen, due to the Lowestoft potters decoration of imported "blank" or undecorated vessels of Chinese porcelain. When the soft-paste porcelain manufacture in Lowestoft started to fail, some potters apparently took to decorating blank Chinese porcelain vessels with overglaze enamels (figure 1). One such potter, Robert Allen, inscribed his name: Allen, Lowestoft on the base of Chinese wares which he decorated. This inscription could have also led people to attribute Chinese wares to Lowestoft. Bulk quantities of undecorated, blank Chinese wares were imported to England, Holland, Germany, Austria, and France where they were "painted with decorations in the local taste, then re-fired and often,



Figure 1. Chinese porcelain teapot, circa 1760, overglaze enameling executed in London. Attributed to a group of enamellers who also painted Chelsea porcelain with similar subjects. (Source: Howard and Ayer's, *China for the West*, page 536).

doubtless, sold as a local product to the all-unsuspecting buyer" (Lloyd Hyde 1964:10). Further adding to the confusion, the English soft-paste porcelain factories at Bow and Chelsea decorated the imported Chinese wares, and the factories at Battersea and Worcester developed a method of transfer printing on Chinese porcelain (Lloyd Hyde 1964:10).

Enamelling of Chinese porcelain was performed at independent enamelling businesses in London as early as 1750 (Honey 1932:107). The enamelling trade flourished in London during this period, and advertisements such as one in the *St. James Chronicle*, dated May 18-21, 1765 placed by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce offered rewards for the development and production of high quality enamels (Valpy 1985:177). An advertisement which appeared in the *General Evening Post* on November 3, 1775 read,

"CHINA-PAINTING. Wanted a steady sober Workman, expeditious in the India Way of Painting. One who answers the above will meet with Encouragement according to his Abilities, by applying to No.5, Chapel-Row, Kentish Town" (Valpy 1985:179).

Quite clearly there were a large number of eighteenth-century enamellers working both in the soft paste porcelain factories of Bow and Chelsea as well as in craft shops in London who were enamelling Chinese wares, and undoubtedly contributing to the misidentification of the Chinese wares as English by noted nineteenth-century ceramicists such as William Chaffers. The London account books of William

Duesbury dated 1751 to 1753 reveal references to enameled "Chineys" men and master enameler John Giles of Kentish Town, London also probably enameled Chinese wares during the late 1760's (Honey 1932:108). It was not until 1954 with the publication of J.A. Lloyd Hyde's *Oriental Lowestoft* that this problem was directly confronted in a scholarly fashion, and the accurate identification of Chinese wares as Chinese, rather than English roundly accepted after decades of misattribution. Even today among some collectors and connoisseurs of Chinese wares the terms *Oriental Lowestoft*, or *Chinese Lowestoft* are still used, although these collectors are aware of the misnomer and know that they are referring to Chinese produced wares.

It is fascinating that less than a century after the cessation of the East India trade by the British, ceramic scholars in Britain and America were having such a difficult time both distinguishing Chinese produced porcelain wares from English and accepting that there was a very profitable, and widespread Chinese porcelain trade during the eighteenth-century, let alone realizing the huge economic, social and cultural impact, which the eighteenth-century British trade with China had for all of Anglo-America.

Porcelain is one of three broad categories of ceramics, the other two being earthenware and stoneware. The main difference between porcelain, earthenware and stoneware is both the clay used and the temperature at which the clay is fired. Earthenware is relatively soft, porous, scratches

easily, is not translucent and unglazed is permeable to water. Earthenwares are fired at temperatures of about 800–900 degrees centigrade. Stoneware is very hard, dense, not porous, not easily scratched, impermeable to water in its unglazed state, and is fired at temperatures of about 1250–1300 degrees centigrade. Stoneware made from a refined petuntse, kaolin clay and fired at temperatures of 1200–1300 degrees centigrade is true hard-paste porcelain. It is very dense, when thinly potted, it can be transparent, breaks with conchoidal fractures similar to glass, and is resonant when struck (Scheurleer 1974:29).

The vast majority of eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain was produced in the town of Jingdezhen, on the Chang River in the province of Kiangsi in China continually from some time during the Han dynasty (206B.C–A.D.220), up until 1858 when the export trade almost came to an end when the town was destroyed and the inhabitants massacred in the T'ai-p'ing rebellion of 1853 (Gordon 1975:9).

The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the Jingdezhen potters refine their wares by combining the China clay known as kaolin, and the granitic mineral rock, petuntse, sometimes referred to as "China stone" and "little white bricks" (Howard and Ayers 1978:15). This refinement produced a white porcelain called Yingqing ware (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988 :19). It is noted that the Chinese emperor Woeng Wu (1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty, chose the town of Jingdezhen in which to build kilns for the manufacture of

porcelain for the royal palace (Gordon 1975:8). First introduced during the beginning of the fourteenth-century, underglaze blue painted decoration was the innovation which established Jingdezhen as the foremost town of porcelain production in China (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988 :19). Over the next several hundred years, hundreds of private porcelain kilns were established in the vicinity of the imperial kilns, so that by the eighteenth-century there were now approximately 3,000 kilns and a population of 1,000,000 persons in Jingdezhen, thus earning its nickname, "the porcelain city" (Gordon 1975:8).

Jingdezhen was located thirty miles up the river Chang from the city of Jaochow in the province of Kangsi. Its location was absolutely perfectly suited for the production of porcelain and has all of the raw materials necessary for porcelain manufacture in close proximity. The river bed of the Chang contained an extremely high quality white clay, known as kaolin, while the hills surrounding Jingdezhen held a quantity of feldspar, or petuntse which was used for the glaze, and local ferns of which the ashes were combined with the petuntse to "fix" the glaze and the pigments used (Gordon 1975:8).

There were ample supplies of both coal and wood in the hills surrounding Jingdezhen, which were used to fuel the kilns for the firing of the porcelain. Father du Halde, in his 1738 work, *General History of China*, documents the ideal location of Jingdezhen for porcelain making, "...it seems

that the Water of the Place where the China is made, contributes to its Beauty and Goodness, for they do not make good elsewhere, altho' they employ the same Materials" (du Halde 1738:80). In addition, the location of Jingdezhen on the Chang river close to lake P'oyang and a series of waterways, made transport of the porcelain to the coastal port of Canton, through which the majority of the eighteenth-century export wares passed, some four hundred miles south east of Jingdezhen, manageable.

With its hundreds of kiln smokestacks and upwards of a population of 1,000,000, Jingdezhen during the eighteenth-century was one of the principle urban centers of China, and one of the largest urban centers in the world. When Father d'Entrecolles estimated the population as being 1,000,000 in 1712, both Paris and London each only had a population of 500,000.

The paste, or fabric of the Chinese porcelain wares produced during the eighteenth-century is composed of two clays: petuntse, and kaolin, the sources for which were located in close proximity to the manufacturing center of Jingdezhen. During the eighteenth-century the petuntse rock was mined in the mountains along the Chang river (Figure 2). The second clay, kaolin, is a naturally occurring white clay of smooth and fine texture, taken from the riverbed of the Chang river, and is sometimes referred to as 'China clay' (Phillips 1956:6). The kaolin clay is geologically similar to the petuntse clay, in that it represents a weather-worn

DIGGING, PURIFYING, COMBINING, AND
TRANSPORTING KAOLIN AND PETUNTSE

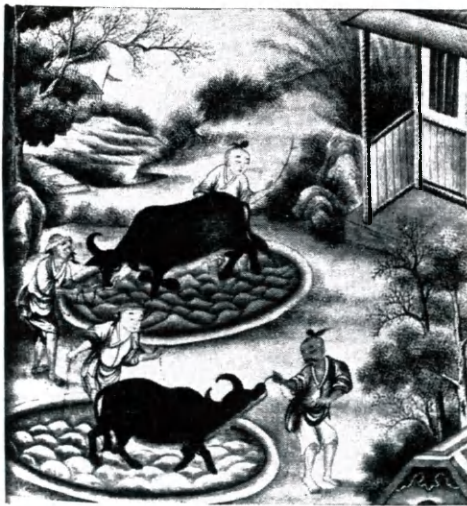


Figure 2 (page 1 of 2). Digging, purifying, combining, and transporting kaolin and petuntse. A group of Chinese water colors, thought to have been painted circa 1800, documenting the initial mining of the Chinese porcelain clays. (Source: Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade 1785-1835*, page 57).

DIGGING, PURIFYING, COMBINING, AND
TRANSPORTING KAOLIN AND PETUNTSE (*cont.*)

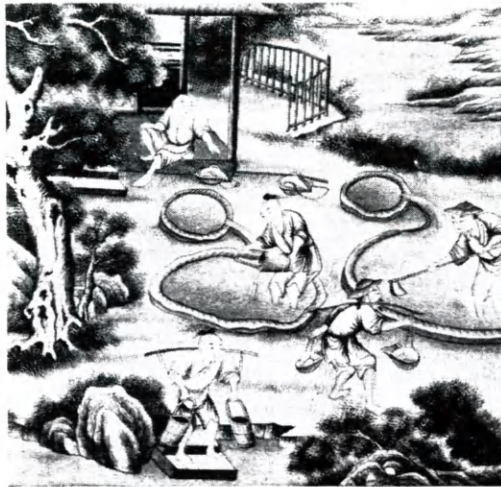


Figure 2 (page 2 of 2). Digging, purifying, combining, and transporting kaolin and petuntse. A group of Chinese water colors, thought to have been painted circa 1800, documenting the initial mining of the Chinese porcelain clays. (Source: Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade 1785-1835*, page 58).

form of the granitic rock from which petuntse is made. The petuntse clay, which differs mainly from the kaolin clay, in that it contains particles of quartz, when blended together with the kaolin clay constitutes a smooth, fine textured clay which is remarkably strong. The petuntse rich clay, with its quartz content, allows the two clays to "fuse" together, while the kaolin clay adds to the elasticity and adds beneficial modelling properties to the clay.

The molding, throwing, painting, firing and packaging of the porcelain, took place in an assembly line-like process with each porcelain factory worker responsible for executing one task, and hence had to become extremely proficient in just one specific aspect of porcelain manufacture (Figures 3-7). This division of tasks was due chiefly because of the lack of power driven equipment, and an adequate supply of workers.

There were a myriad of decorative motifs applied by the Chinese painters in underglaze blue cobalt during the eighteenth-century. The philosophy behind the Chinese porcelain painters use of decorative motifs was no different to any other Chinese painting medium. The painters design technique relied upon the copying and reinterpretation of past styles of painting. Thus, decorative motifs derived and used during the Ming dynasty, would have a rebirth in later centuries as well. This is the case with both the *blue trellis* and *blue spearhead* motifs, discussed in chapter three; they are both eighteenth-century revivals of Ming

FORMING, SMOOTHING, AND
DRYING RAW CLAY OBJECTS

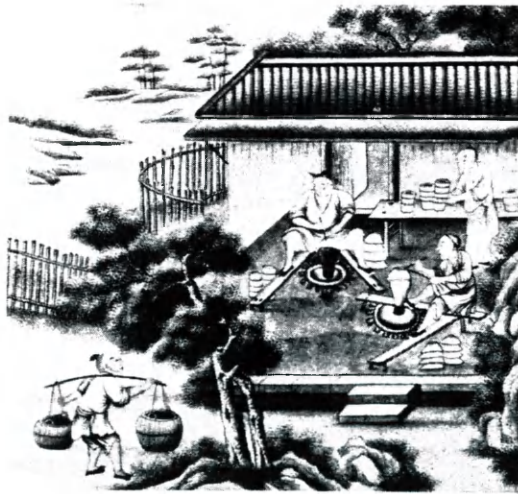
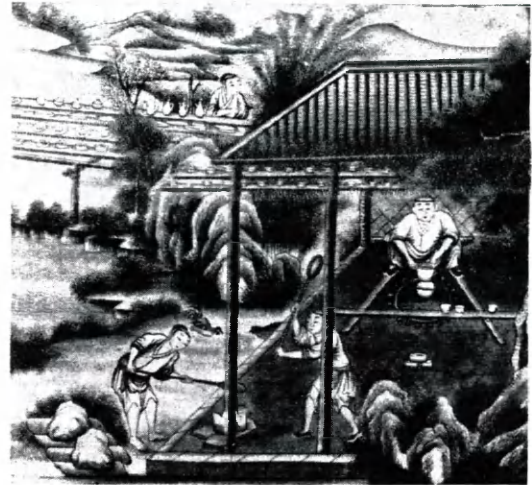


Figure 3. Forming, smoothing, and drying raw clay objects. A group of Chinese water colors, thought to have been painted circa 1800, documenting the potting and drying of the Chinese porcelain wares. (Source: Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade 1785-1835*, page 59).

DECORATING AND GLAZING THE OBJECTS;
LOADING, FIRING, AND OPENING THE KILNS

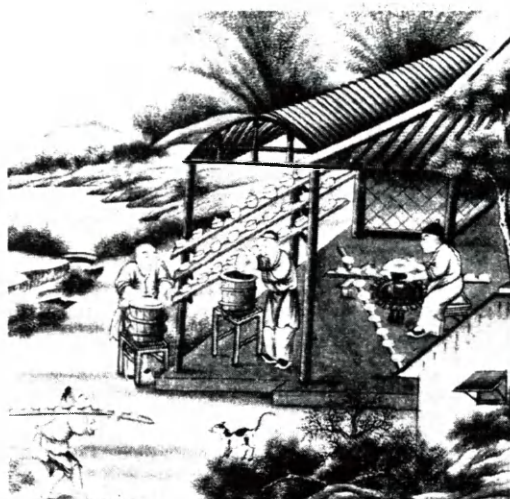


Figure 4. Decorating and glazing the objects, loading, firing, and opening the kilns. A group of Chinese water colors, thought to have been painted circa 1800, documenting the painting and firing of Chinese porcelain wares. (Source: Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade 1785-1835*, page 60).

REMOVING FINISHED PORCELAIN FROM KILNS,
MIXING COLORS, APPLYING OVERGLAZE
DECORATION, AND REFIRING

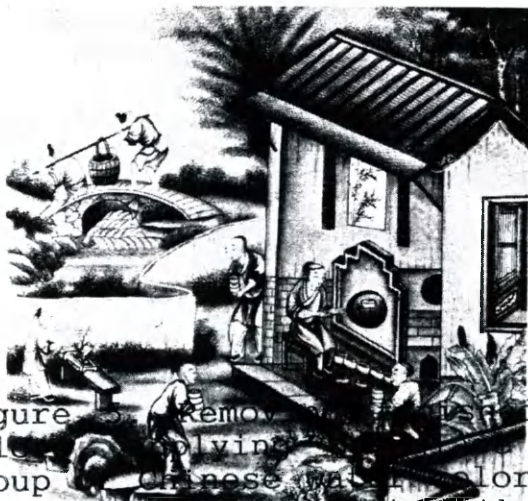
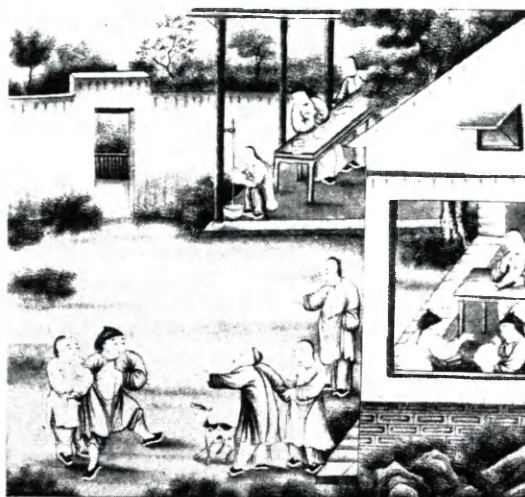


Figure 1. Removing finished porcelain from kilns, mixing colors, applying overglaze decoration, and refiring. A group of Chinese potters, thought to have been visited circa 1800, documenting the removal of Chinese porcelain wares from the kilns, and overglaze enameling. (Source: Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade 1785-1835*, page 61).

period decorative underglaze blue motifs. The eighteenth-century was no exception, as the Chinese painters learned from the centuries old methods of painting and used decorative motifs which had antecedents hundreds of years prior.

The fired and finished vessels were tightly packed and bound in cylindrical bundles (Figures 6,7) for the four hundred mile trek to the port of Canton where the British East India Company factory and ships were docked. During the course of the four hundred mile trek to Canton (Figure 8), the porcelain was first loaded on boats on the Chang transferred to larger vessels to sail across the large river which flowed into Poyang Lake. The porcelain was then reloaded onto smaller vessels for travel down the river, Gan. The bundles were then carried by hand over the Meiling Pass, a journey of some eight or nine hours, and then reshipped to the port at Canton (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988:20).

The very routine, and regularized mass production technique of the production of the vast majority of the underglaze blue and white Chinese wares, meant that there was little room for artisans to be creative, to alter the design, or include new elements in the painting. This uniform, repetitious manufacture allowed for the accurate repetition of the same motifs, and allowed the creation of uniform matching sets of both table and teawares which captivated the British and the colonial residents of Tidewater Virginia. The unique combination of an

PACKING, LABELING, AND DISTRIBUTING
TUBS OF FINISHED PORCELAIN;
GIVING A PLAY AT THE FACTORY



Figure 6. Packing, labeling, and distributing tubs of finished porcelain; giving a play at the factory. A group of Chinese water colors, thought to have been painted circa 1800, documenting the packing and distribution of Chinese porcelain wares. (Source: Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade 1785-1835*, page 62).

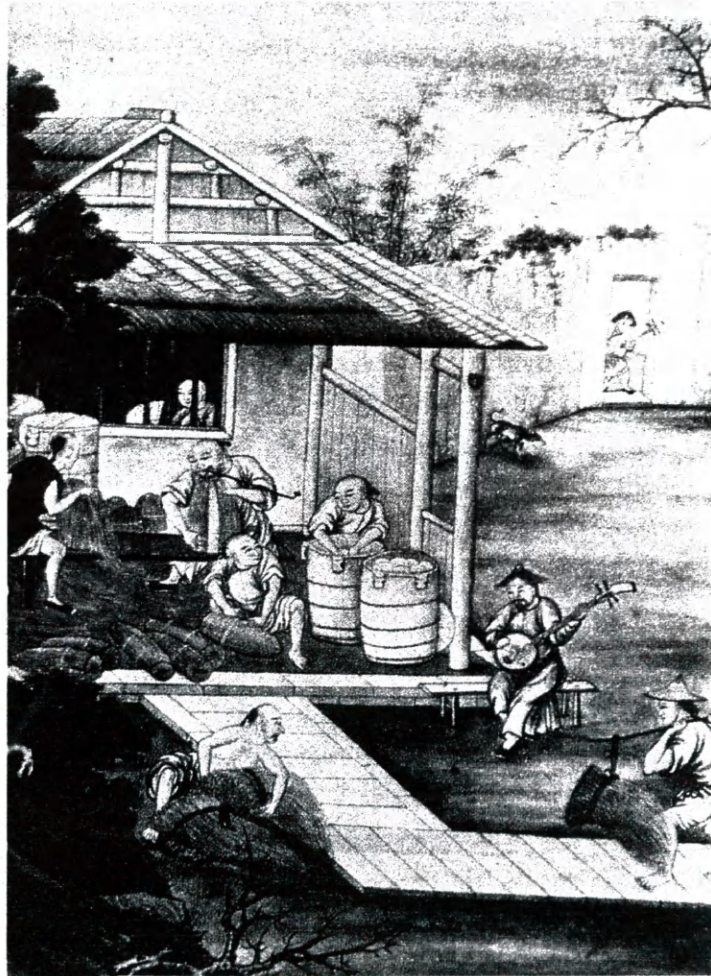


Figure 7. Eighteenth-century Chinese drawing illustrating how the finished porcelain was packed into straw bundles and barrels for transport to Canton. (Source: Wastfelt et al, *Porcelain from the East Indiaman Gotheborg*, page 57).

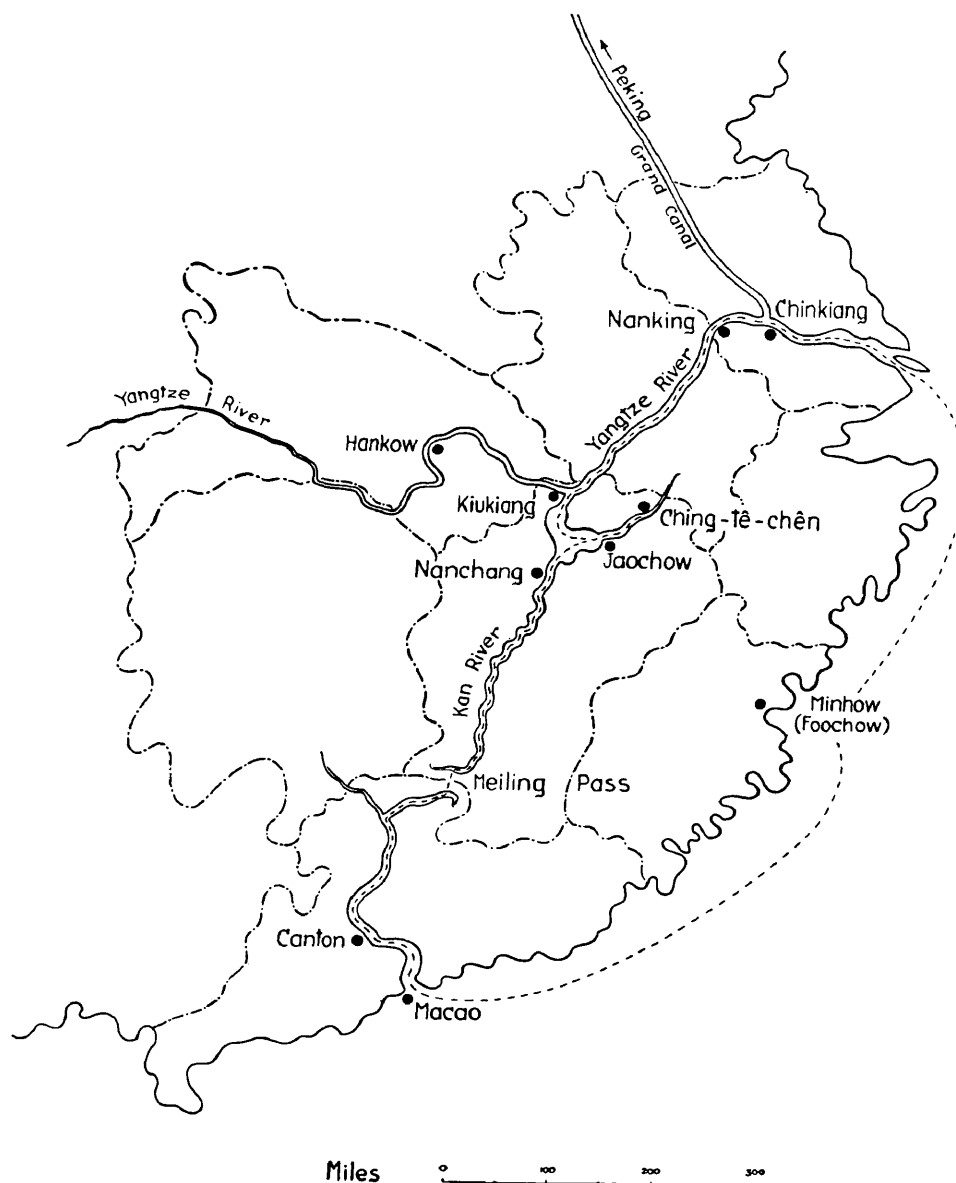


Figure 8. Map of China showing the 400 mile river and land route over which the finished porcelain was transported to Canton for additional overglaze enameling, and loading onto European East Indiamen. (Source: Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade 1785-1835*, page 51).

overabundant labor supply, proximity to the required granitic petuntse, rich beds of kaolin clay, native cobalt ores, and adequate forests and coal fields for fuel, made Jingdezhen an ideal location to produce a ware of such consistently high quality, and consistency remaining in fashion and an expression of gentility throughout the eighteenth-century in Britain and colonial Virginia.

The Development of 'The Governor and Merchants of London trading into the East Indies' and later the 'Honorable East India Company' and the ordering and distribution of Chinese porcelains to Virginia:

From all indications, the Dutch were the masters of the East India trade during the first seventy-five years of the seventeenth-century, and the British trade in Chinese porcelain really never commenced in earnest until the 1680's (Kilburn, personal communication, 1995). Although founded in 1600, the 'The Governor and Merchants of London trading to the East Indies', a monopoly company (Howard 1994:13), was not a major trading force in the East India trade until the end of the seventeenth-century (Haudrere 1989:11), and only sporadic references to the early seventeenth-century trade are found. Turbulent times during the seventeenth-century; the English Civil War of the 1640's, and the Manchu revolt and Civil War in China between 1644 and 1680, caused there to be few English, or European East India Company

vessels to trade in China during the middle of the seventeenth-century. Aside from the failed trading voyage of the English vessel the *Hinde* in 1644, unsuccessful voyages of two private English ships the *King Ferdinand* and the *Richard and Martha* in 1658, and the unprofitable voyage of 1664 the trade between England, as well as most of Europe and China was virtually nonexistent until the 1680's (Howard 1994:14). Thus the mid seventeenth-century saw little Chinese porcelain exported to England, and to the Virginia colony.

Internal political problems in China, forced the cessation of much of the trade with the west during the Transitional Period (1664-1680), although there are some known Chinese porcelains excavated from mid seventeenth-century contexts in Tidewater Virginia. Mr. John Cotter has documented Chinese porcelains as part of the ceramic assemblage from a c.1650-1675 context within Structure 112 on Jamestown Island, Virginia (Cotter 1994:117), and others have documented other mid seventeenth-century archaeological contexts with Chinese wares from sites in Tidewater, Virginia including Jamestown Island, the 'Maine', the Colonel Thomas Pettus, Kingsmill Tenement, and Drummond Plantation sites in James City County (Curtis 1988; Mudge 1986:86-92, 240). A civil war between the ruling Ming and rebel Manchus interrupted the flow of porcelain to the West after the Manchu rebels seized control of the south-central Chinese province of Jiangxi in 1644, with the final export

of porcelain to Holland occurring in 1657, not to begin again until 1681 (Little 1983:1). The burning of and subsequent devastation of the kilns at Jingdezhen in 1675 (Curtis 1988:28; Little 1983:20) reduced the porcelain production to nil and there are no known porcelains made between 1673-1681 (Little 1983:20).

The resumption of trade after 1680, and the appointment of the first Imperial Superintendent of the kilns, Zang Yingxuan in 1682 (1680-1688) (Scott 1992:9; Little 1983:20) signalled a watershed change in the styles, motifs, and color palettes used on Chinese wares from 1680-1722. After 1680, as Chinese ceramic scholar Richard Kilburn notes, there was a "...clear cut change in style as the standard Kangxi export types begin to be produced" (Kilburn, personal communication 1994). The first documented resumption of trade with the West, following the Chinese upheavals during the Ming-Manchu conflict, is the V.O.C.'s resumption of shipments of Chinese porcelain to Holland in 1681 (Volker 1954:170). Although export wares unsuitable for the domestic market were made during Ming dynasty times, the post-1681 resumption of the routine export trade with the West, was characterized by a marked increase in porcelains produced for the export market. The reign of Kangxi, also marks the first time overglaze enamelled porcelains were made for the export market (Beurdeley 1962:30).

It has been noted that there were originally two English East India Companies, the "Old" Company (The Governor and Merchants of London trading to the East Indies) (Haudrere 1989:10) founded in 1600, and the "New" Company (The English Company Trading to the West Indies) chartered by King William 1698 (Howard 1994:15). These two companies were joined in 1708 under the title, the 'United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies' (Haudrere 1989:11), or as it became known as later the 'Honorable East India Company' (Toppin 1934:46).

Porcelain itself was not made an article of commerce, until 1631, and even after that, it is noted that it was not imported in vast quantities (Toppin 1934:38) until the eighteenth-century. Charles I issued licences to several private individuals in 1635, which competed with the *The Governor and Merchants of London trading to the East Indies*. Within a few years of the issuing of these licences, the Chinese forbade the British to trade in China due to their "bad conduct", and the Chinese ports were closed to English traders until 1680 (Toppin 1934:38).

The Navigation Acts of 1651, forbade the importation of goods to England from Asia, Africa or America in anything other than British ships (Noel Hume 1969:257). These Acts were reaffirmed by Charles II and were not repealed until 1685. The restrictions on trade with China due to the Navigation Acts, combined with internal Chinese warfare between the ruling Mings and the rebel Manchus during the

mid seventeenth-century, and the English banishment from trade with Chinese ports between about 1645 until 1680 (Noel Hume 1969:257; Kilburn, personal communication, 1995) meant that virtually no Chinese porcelain destined for England or the colony of Virginia could have been imported directly from China between about 1645-1680. Consequently, when the Chinese export trade of the English East India Company is referred to, it is mostly the trade from 1680 through the eighteenth-century, which forms the bulk period of the English trade in Chinese wares (Toppin 1934:38).

While during the seventeenth-century the British traded with the Chinese at the ports of Chusan, Lingpo, and Amoy (Howard 1994:22) (figure 9), the year 1699 marked an important milestone in the history of the Chinese export trade as the port of Canton (figure 10) was opened, although only sporadically, by the Chinese to traders from Europe (Scheurleer 1974:60). It was only in 1715 that the Chinese government allowed the British to open an office in Canton. In the years which followed, the other principle trading companies from other European countries were given permission to open offices as well. The French in 1728, the Dutch in 1729, the Danes in 1731, the Swedes in 1732, the Austrians and the Americans in 1784 (Schuerleer 1974:61).

The second half of the eighteenth-century saw the construction of semi-permanent trading bases, or factories, of the Europeans (figure 11). At the height of the Chinese export trade during the eighteenth-century, there were



Figure 9. An eighteenth-century map of China from *A New System of Modern Geography* by William Guthrie. 3rd edition, (London, 1786), p.663. (Source: Howard, *New York and the China Trade*, page 38).



Figure 10. "Chart of the Entrance to the river of Canton" by J.N. Bellin. Copper engraving by J. van Schley after the original French edition of 1764, 26 X 10.5 cm, circa 1770. University Library, Leiden, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection number 177-185. (Source: Jorg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, page 48).

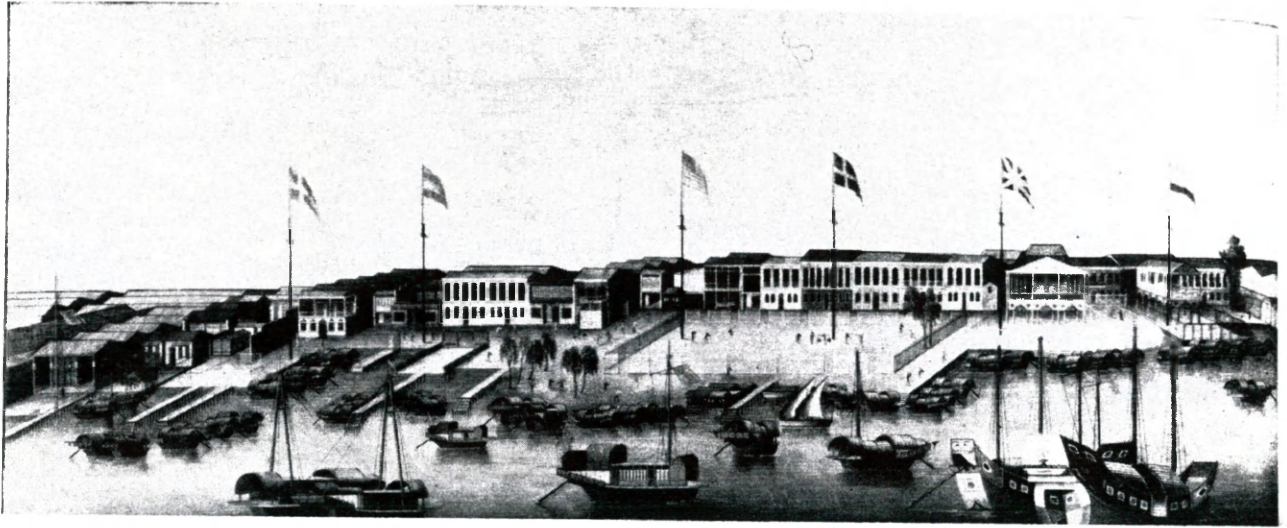


Figure 11. An early nineteenth-century oil painting, circa 1800, depicting a view of the European factories at Canton. The flags are from left to right the Danish, Spanish, American, Swedish, British, and Dutch. (Source: Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade 1785-1835*, p.30).

thirteen factories of European nations, 350 yards wide, and 100 yards deep built in a row on the tiny island of Jongsin-Seeluan (Schuerleer: 1974:63; Howard 1994:22).

Throughout the course of the British trade with China, the porcelains themselves, while usually forming a sizable percentage of the bulk of the cargo, in monetary terms, the porcelain trade formed but a relatively small percentage, only between five and ten percent (Howard 1994:10), of the total Chinese trade with Britain and just five percent of the Dutch trade with China during the same period (Jorg 1982:193). Of the porcelain cargo imported to England just one or two percent was re-exported to the British colonies in North America during the eighteenth-century (Howard, personal communication, 1995; Howard 1994:31-32). The English, like the Dutch, imported a wide variety of marketable Chinese goods to Europe including spices, silks, Chinese wallpapers, lacquered furniture, silver and pewter, ivories, jade, soapstone, mother of pearl, rattan and hardwood furniture, satin, enamels, painted fans, paintings on wood, paper and on glass as well as many different varieties of Chinese teas (Palmer 1978:11; Howard and Ayers 1978:629). To get an idea of the diversity of a typical cargo exported from China, the cargo lists for the Honorable East India Company ships *Prince of Wales*, and *London* taken from the Log from *China* No. 46, dated 1738-1739 reads:

432 Chests of China-ware
 133 Peculs (a Pecul is 133.5lbs.) of Sago
 1,198 Peculs of Tutenague (a Chinese alloy of

copper, zinc and nickel)
 6,994 Peculs of Tea (Bohea, Souchong, Hyson
 and Singlo)
 11,107 Pieces of Silk
 9,530 Pieces of Nankeene (a kind of cotton
 cloth originally made in Nanking from a
 yellow variety of cotton)
 220 Shoes of Gold Value about 25,000 taels
 (Twining 1956:31)

During the eighteenth-century, the majority of the Chinese wares brought back to England, and re-exported to the North American colonies such as Virginia, were bulk manufactured wares, specifically mass produced for sale to the East India Companies. A minority of the Chinese porcelains imported to England during this period were wares of 'the private trade', or wares commissioned and purchased by enterprising supercargos, and crew of the East India Company vessels.

Periodically, there appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* details of the latest Honorable East India Company vessel to return to London from Canton. Such "news flashes", as they were, just a brief few sentences, include details of the variety of Chinese goods, including porcelain, which formed the basis of the eighteenth-century English-Chinese trade. A 1768 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* included the news that in London on May 21st,

"The cargoes of the *Northumberland* and the *Otterly* East Indiamen, just arrived from China, consist of 9,280 pieces of different sorts of goods, 66,000lb. of raw silk, 715,000lb of bohea, 36,800lb. of hyson, and 283,900lb. of single tea, 10 whole chests, 90 half do. and two boxes of china ware, besides several parcels of other goods" (*Virginia Gazette* 1768:21)

Another East India Company "newsflash" which appeared in the same 1768 edition of the *Virginia Gazette* reported,

"May 30. The cargo of the *Earl of Lincoln* East Indiaman, just arrived from China, consists of 4,600 pieces of different sorts of goods, 37,300lb. of raw silk, 360,600lb. of bohea, 13,600lb. of congo, 12,400 lb. of hyson, 166,300lb. of singlo, and 8,100 lb. of souchong tae, 7 whole chests, 33 half do. and 1 box of china ware besides other goods" (*Virginia Gazette* 1768:21).

Commonly, the Honorable East India Company would send with the supercargo (figure 12), the Englishman responsible for seeing through the order and purchase of the porcelain, a list of requirements, specifications, quantities, etc. of the porcelain to be ordered. A partial copy of the "Orders and Instructions" given by the Company to Mr. Edward Henwicke, John Child and Peter Godfrey the supercargos of the *Loyal Bliss* which sailed to Canton in 1712 is contained in appendix B. It is interesting to note that this list or *Orders and Requirements* for the *Loyal Bliss* includes some of the earliest orders for the ceramic vessels, which together, make up the teaset (Kilburn, personal communication, 1992). After their arrival in China, the supercargos would visit the porcelain workshops, which were said to number approximately 100 on the island of Honan. William Hickey, the American traveller who commented upon his visit to the European factories in 1769, also wrote about the porcelain decoration shops – about one shop he said,

"We were then shewn the different processes used in finishing the China ware. In one long gallery

we found upwards of a hundred persons at work in sketching or finishing the various ornaments upon each particular piece of ware, some parts being executed by men of a very advanced age, others by children even so young as six or seven years..." (Hickey 1913:209).

For the finer overglaze enamelled decoration, the supercargos could relatively easily inspect the progress and quality of the painting on Honan in the galleries. For the larger bulk orders of underglaze blue and white porcelains, the supercargo would order from the Hong-merchants according to the requirements placed upon them, regulating decorative style, vessel form, quality and quantity. The Hong-merchant, senior negotiator of the porcelain orders, would then place the European orders through smaller merchants who specialized in each commodity of the export trade (Kilburn, personal communication, 1995). The Hong-merchant's order on behalf of the European supercargoes would then be sent to Jingdezhen, some 400 miles inland and a price for the porcelain would be negotiated. The order was taken, listed on a receipt, which the Hong-merchant, or his agent, had to produce in order to take delivery of the finished porcelain (Scheurleer 1974:65). Unlike the overglaze porcelains, the bulk orders of the English supercargo, had less direct control over the proper placement of the Honorable East India Company's order and had to rely upon the talents of his Hong-merchant.

It is often thought that the Chinese porcelain craftsmen reproduced age old vessel forms and decorative motifs on the Chinese porcelain for export to England and



Figure 12. A Chinese illustration of an English merchant, possibly an East India Company supercargo, c. 1760. The caption in the upper right reads, "He is an Englishman who wears a felt hat, short jacket, leather shoes, and holds a walking cane along with a sword. He appears to be a strong and courageous man. After about seven months he will leave Kuangtung. He frequently comes to Kuangtung Province and other southern regions to buy and sell. When winter comes he returns to England." (Source: Howard and Ayers, *China for the West*, page 23).

the rest of Europe. Actually, the Chinese porcelain trade was a very dynamic system of interaction with the English supercargos, placing detailed and specific orders for the Company's requirements with the Hong-merchants. While it is impossible to fully chronicle the variety of choice of patterns and motifs open to the supercargos, it is known that if particular patterns were liked by the supercargos, the Chinese would make sure to produce more of that pattern for the following season (Howard 1994:24). Although it is commonly thought that the Chinese produced a limited number of decorative motifs at their pleasure, the Chinese were actually responding to Western preference and demand for particular motifs which would sell well in Europe - a classic case of supply and demand in a worldwide market economy of the eighteenth-century.

Occasionally, either at the request of the Company or for private trade, the English, like the other European traders, commissioned the Chinese to produce Chinese porcelain based on western forms or painted with western motifs and inscriptions. An excellent example of this is the plate commemorating the September-October, 1690 riots in Rotterdam, Holland (Figure 33) which was painted directly from a medal struck by Jan Smeltzing (1656-1693) (Howard and Ayers 1978:60). The Chinese artisans responded well to the challenge, creating special molds for odd Western shaped tureens, and skillfully reproduced wares much to the delight of the English consumers. Examples in English refined

earthenware, delft or silver, as well as pen and ink drawings, were brought for the Chinese potters to reproduce, which they did faithfully (Figure 13). The Chinese painters boasted that, "...there was not a design that they could not reproduce in china ware" (Huddart 1989: 63).

While the historical record is spotty on the method of a Londoner ordering a specific vessel form, or armorial service, it can be assumed with relative confidence that the Londoner placed their order with the Honorable East India Company's offices in London, or through particular merchants in London, referred to as "chinamen". As porcelain scholar John Goldsmith Phillips surmised,

"It is reasonable to suppose that these shopkeepers accepted orders for specially decorated porcelain services, although there is no evidence to give direct support to such a belief or to indicate how transactions of this sort might have been carried out" (Phillips 1956:34).

In all, it took as much as two years between the order for porcelain having left with the supercargo aboard the East India Company vessel and the date which the orderer in England or America received his wares (Phillips 1956:35).

Thus relates the long two year voyage of the Chinese wares from their order, as per the requirements of the Honorable East India Company, to their display for sale in some of London's finest China shops, such as Hannah Ward's shop at the sign of the *Four Coffins*. Although there exists documentation concerning descriptions of the transport of Chinese wares from London to New York, New England,

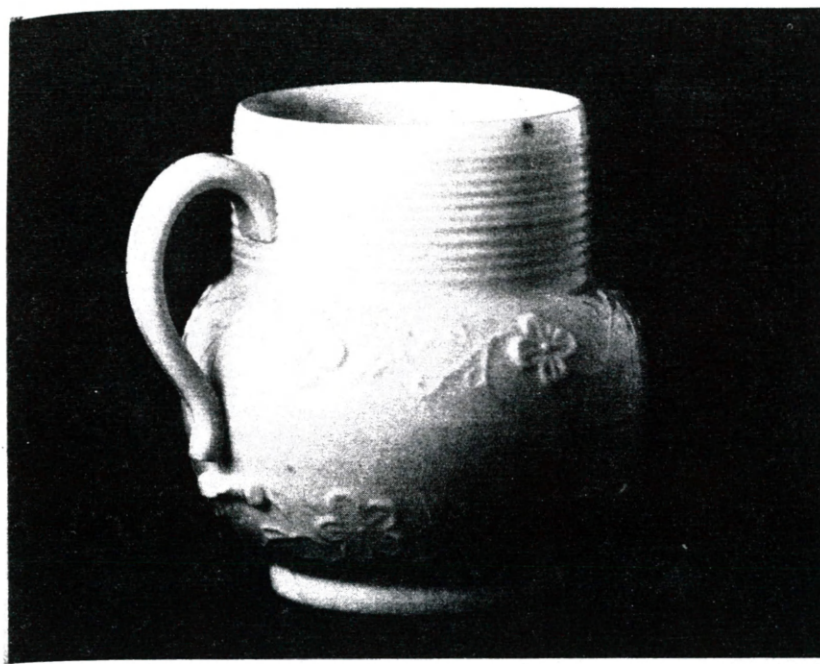


Figure 13. *Blanc de chine* mug, circa 1690-1700, of *Te-hua* Ware, in imitation of an English Fulham stoneware mug. Note that the handle terminal is separated from the rest of the handle. (Source: Palmer, *A Winterthur Guide to Chinese Export Porcelain*, page 45).

Pennsylvania, and Maryland (Kilburn, personal communication, 1992), of the export of the Chinese porcelain from London to Virginia little detailed information is known. Like the rest of the South, much of Virginia's historical records were destroyed or lost, exacerbating the deficit of knowledge concerning eighteenth-century Chinese wares in Virginia.

After 1784, with the first American ship to voyage around the world to participate in the China trade, *The Empress of China*, there was a direct trade between the American ports of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Norfolk and Canton. After 1784, the Americans occupied a factory in Canton alongside that of the factories of Denmark, Spain, France, Sweden, Great Britain and Holland. Once this direct trade began, the American trade in Chinese porcelain proceeded much the same as the English trade discussed previously (Lee 1984:41).

But what of the Chinese porcelain to arrive on the shores of Virginia between the resumption of English trade with China in the 1680's and the voyage of *The Empress of China*, a century later in 1784? It is generally thought that the successful London wholesale merchants who purchased Chinese porcelain at the Leadenhall Street auctions, sold porcelain to commission agents who were involved with the purchase of tobacco in Virginia. We know from eighteenth-century advertisements in the *Virginia Gazette* that British sailing vessels routinely sailed from London, laden with

saleable goods of the Chinese export trade, including porcelain, imported to London upon Honorable East India Company ships (Figure 14). Such information periodically appeared in the *Virginia Gazette*. One such advertisement which appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1746 reads,

"Just Imported, in the Ships *Rebecca* and *Mary*, Captain Wilkie, A Cargo of Goods from London, consisting of a variety of Linens, India Goods, Woolens, Mercury, Haberdashery, Cutlery, Hats, Hose, Gloves, Grocery, Iron, Brass, Earthen, Glass, and China Wares, & c. To be Sold, Wholesale or Retail, by the Subscriber in Williamsburg John Holt." (Virginia Gazette 1746:41)

Another such advertisement appearing in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1768 reads:

"Just imported from London, in the *Jordan*, Captain Woodford, and to be sold by the subscriber in Williamsburg at a very low advance, for ready money, the following articles, viz "...tea sets complete..." (Virginia Gazette 1768:33)

Presumably the Chinese cargoes of these ships were purchased at the Honorable East India Company's auctions on Leadenhall Street by a merchant who could resold the items in Virginia. Possibly general store merchants from Williamsburg, or private individuals could purchase the Chinese porcelain just off of the boat as it were. Scholar of Chinese wares, Mr. David Howard indicated that the finest, most popular patterns were bought up by the London dealers at the Honorable East India Company auctions in Leadenhall Street, and sold through their China shops. The more unusual patterns, castoffs and less desirable wares, referred to by Mr. David Howard as 'oddments' were the

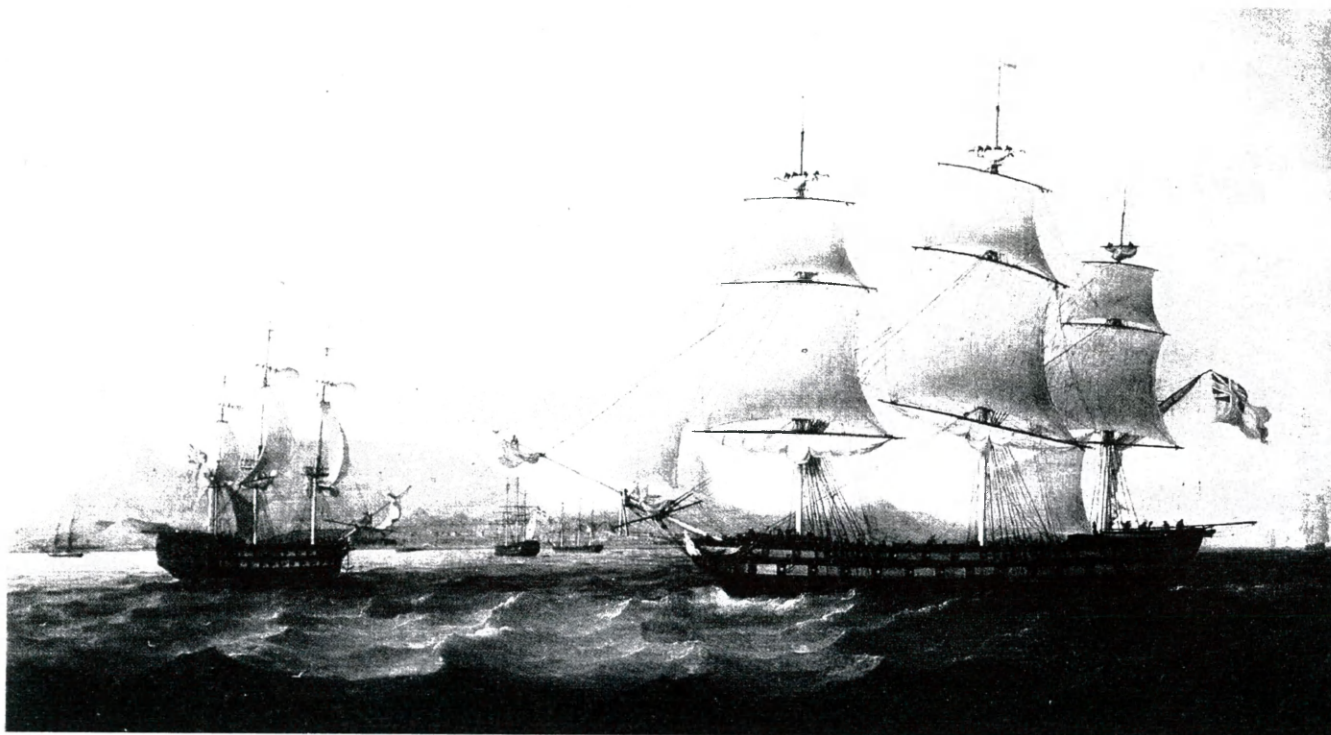


Figure 14. A convoy of English East Indiamen entering Table Bay, South Africa. By Thomas Whitcombe, signed and dated 1817. (Source: Sheaf and Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargos*, page 160).

pieces sent to the English colony of Virginia. The *oddments* constituted those kinds of Chinese ware which either did not sell at auction, was less expensive or was less popular (Howard, personal communication-meeting, June 1992). This explains why English ceramicists have concluded that there are so many "odd" design and motifs on Chinese wares found in the Mid-Atlantic region.

From all accounts without a proper specialty China shop, or 'chinaman', the retail sale of Chinese export goods, including porcelain in Williamsburg, seems to have been carried on through general stores, such as that run by John Greenhow, which was situated near Bruton Parish church (figure 15). Advertisements for John Greenhow's store appeared quite regularly in the Virginia Gazette during this period and advertised a wide variety of goods of the Chinese export trade for sale in Williamsburg. A typical John Greenhow advertisement from a 1771 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* include a list of China trade items for sale such as "...rich China bowls, and various sorts of other China Ware...Silk Purses...Congo, Green and Bohea Teas...Sold at John Greenhow's Store, near the Church in Williamsburg, very cheap for ready money" (Virginia Gazette 1771:32). Another Greenhow advertisement from 1769, which ran in the *Virginia Gazette* offered, "...blue and white china of most sorts" (Virginia Gazette 1769:31), and another from 1771 had for sale, "...Bohea, Green, Congo and best Hyson Teas...(and) large and small rich China Bowls..." (Virginia Gazette



Figure 15. A February, 1995 photograph of the reconstructed eighteenth-century John Greenhow store, Williamsburg, Virginia. (Photograph by the author).

1771:32).

While Londoners frequented the fashionable chinamen in the West End or the Strand of London, the provincial eighteenth-century citizens of Williamsburg were apparently relegated to purchasing their Chinese porcelains directly from wholesalers who had sailed up the York or James rivers, or from general store merchants such as John Greenhow.

The elite Virginia planter class, could with proper connections and introduction, deal directly with a London merchant or "factor" who for a commission would purchase for his American client goods, including Chinese porcelain which the Virginian wanted. An excellent example of this eighteenth-century method of commercial transaction known as "consignment and credit" was George Washington's dealings with his English factor, Mr. Robert Cary, a Virginia merchant of London and Hampstead who supplied George Washington with the finest in both British and Chinese export goods from 1759-1772 (Detweiler 1982:43).

Stated briefly, the consignment system allowed the Virginia planter, in this case, George Washington, to export his tobacco to a merchant in England, along with a purchase "wants" list. The English merchant, for a percentage profit, would sell the Virginia planter's tobacco for the best price, and then use the proceeds to purchase the items that the Virginia planter had on his "want" list. Quite often a certain amount of credit was extended to the Virginia planter, the English factor proceeding based on trust and

family, or business references. Other times, the English factor would extend credit to the Virginia planter in the event the sales from the tobacco was not enough to cover the cost of the items purchased in fulfillment of the "want" list. Some of the English factors would purchase the tobacco directly from the Virginia planter in the colony, but George Washington preferred to have his tobacco exported first then sold upon arrival in England (Detweiler 1982:20).

Such a system was mutually beneficial to the English factor and the Virginia planter, in that the planter obtained his goods directly from England, did not have to visit small retail shops for purchases, and was able to receive credit for his purchases. The English factor received a commission for his work, making the transactions profitable. There were, however, drawbacks, in that the Virginia planter could not personally select his purchases, endured losses through breakage, and often orders were delayed in transit across the Atlantic.

Other times, George Washington would use as a kind of American factor Baltimore merchant, Tench Telighman, to make his purchases of Chinese porcelain. The detailed correspondence between George Washington and this Baltimore factor, Mr. Tench Telighman, offers unique insights into ways in which Chinese export goods were sold in Virginia, during the eighteenth-century. A series of correspondence between George Washington and Tench Telighman during 1785, concerning George Washington's interest in purchasing some

newly arrived Chinese porcelain is particularly interesting. What caught George Washington's eye was an August 12, 1785 advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette and Baltimore Advisor*, offering the latest in Chinese porcelains brought to Baltimore aboard the ship, *Pallas*.

"To be sold by Public Vendue, at Baltimore, on the 1st of October next, in Lots, the following Goods, just imported in the Ship *Pallas*, direct from China---
 Hyson teas of the first quality, in quarter chests;
 Hyson tea, in canisters of 2 1/2lb. each;
 Hyson Ditto, of the second quality in chests;
 Confu Ditto, Ditto, in Ditto;
 Hyson Skin, Ditto, Ditto;
 Gunpowder, Ditto, Ditto;
 Table Sets of the best Nankeen, blue and white stone China;
 Ditto of the second quality, Ditto;
 Ditto, painted Ditto, Ditto;
 Dishes of blue and white stone China, 5 and 3 in a Set;
 Flat and Soup Plates, Ditto,
 Breakfast Cups and Saucers of the best blue and white stone China, in sets;
 Evening Ditto, Ditto, Ditto;
 Painted Ditto, Ditto, Ditto;
 Ditto, with the Arms of the Order of the Cincinnati;
 Bowls, best blue and white Stone China in sets;
 Pint Sneakers, Ditto;
 Mugs, best Stone China in sets;
 Small Tureens with covers;
 Wash-Hand Guglits and Basons;
 Brown Nankeens of the first and second quality;
 Plain, flowered and spotted Lustrings of all colours;
 Sattins, the greatest part black;
 Pelongs of different colours in whole and half pieces;
 Sarsnet Ditto;
 Embroidered Waistcoat Pieces of Silk and Sattin;
 Silk Handkerchiefs very fine, 20 in a piece;
 Spotted and flowered Velvets;
 Painted Gauzes;
 Bengal Piece Goods and Muslins, plain, flowered and corded;
 Silk Umbrellas of all sizes;
 Elegant Paper Hangings;
 Japanned Tea-Chests;
 Ditto Fish and Counter-Boxes;
 Sago, Cinnamon and Cinnamon Flowers;
 Rhubarb, Opium, Gambouge, and Borax;
 Very old Batavia Arrack in leagures, with sundry other

articles, the enumeration of which would take up too much room in a public paper"(Detweiler 1982:208-209).

Upon seeing the above advertisement George Washington wrote on August 17, 1785 to Baltimore merchant Tench Tilghman,

"The Baltimore Advertiser of the 12th. Inst. announces the arrival of a Ship at that Port, immediately from China; and by an advertisement in the same paper, I perceive that the Cargo is to be sold at public Vendue, on the first of Oct.r next.

At what prices the enumerated articles will sell, on the terms proposed, can only be known from the experiment, but if the quantity at Market is great, and they should sell as goods have sold at Vendue, bargains may be expected. I therefore take the liberty of requesting the favor of you, in that case, to purchase the several things contained in the enclosed list.

You will readily perceive, My dear Sir, my purchasing, or not depends entirely upon the prices. If *great bargains* are to be had, I would supply myself agreeably to the list---If the prices do not fall *below* a cheap *retail* sale, I would decline them altogether, or take such articles only (if cheaper than common) as are marked [by asterisks] in the Margin of the Invoice.

Invoice of Goods to be purchased, by Tench Tilghman Esq.r on Acc.t of George Washington, agreeably to the letter accompanying this, of equal date---

A sett of the best Nanking
 Table China
 Ditto---best Evening
 China Cups & Saucers
 *A set of *large* blue &
 White China Dishes---
 say half a doz.n---more
 or less
 *1 Doz.n *small* bowls---
 blue & white
 *6 Wash hand Guglets &
 Basons
 6 Large Mugs---or 3
 Mugs & 3 Jugs."

As part of Tench Tilghman's August 25th, 1785 response to George Washington Tilghman wrote, "Whether those Goods are sold at public or private sale, your Commission shall be punctually attended to" (Detweiler 1982:209).

The manner in which an eighteenth-century Virginian obtained his Chinese porcelain, in large measure depended upon his social and economic standing. Those Virginia planters with strong economic and family ties, like George Washington, could participate in the consignment and credit system. The middling classes either purchased their China wares themselves from the stocks brought by ship via England, or after 1784, directly from China, or from the small retail general stores such as the one operated by John Greenhow in Williamsburg.

Eighteenth-Century Consumerism and Porcelain, the Tea Ceremony, Tea Equipage, and Social Emulation:

"...send me...2 doz.n Dishes, properly sorted, 2 doz.n Shallow Ditto that allowance be made for breakage, pray let them be neat and fashionable or send none..." (Detweiler 1982:200). So wrote George Washington to London merchant, Richard Washington, in a January, 1758 order for Chinese porcelain. Colonial Virginians of the eighteenth-century, like their English counterparts, were participants in a worldwide market economy, an important element of which was the Honorable East India Company's trade with China.

As colonial Virginians and English citizens developed a taste and demand for the new social beverages, chocolate, coffee and tea, so did they demand fashionable, and stylish wares, and Chinese porcelain equipage, with which to prepare and consume the exotic and socially acceptable beverages of

gentility. Indeed of the sherds of Chinese porcelain excavated on archaeological sites of the Virginia Tidewater between 1730 and 1770, the majority are of teawares relating to the socially popular consumption of tea, coffee and punch (Curtis 1988:57).

One of the driving forces behind the desire among both eighteenth-century English and Virginians to acquire Chinese export ware was what McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb termed the "consumer revolution" which blossomed during the eighteenth-century (McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb 1982). Social emulation, and the quest for gentility (Bushman 1992:406-407), combined with an increasing amount of individual capital (Carr and Walsh 1992), and the increased acceptance of the Georgian mindset as explained by James Deetz (Deetz 1977,1983,1988), created a national consumer society, fueling the growth of capitalism, and the industrial revolution, which took place during the late eighteenth-century. The development of the new eighteenth-century Georgian tripartite style worldview as explained by both Deetz (Deetz 1977,1983,1988) and Glassie (1975), and the eighteenth-century necessity to have one plate, cup, saucer, etc. for each person, further fueled the demand for, and use of the matching Chinese porcelain blue and white tea and table wares. Indeed, by 1740 in Charleston, South Carolina the lower social classes had adopted the idea that each person at the dinner table should have both a knife and fork, early urban evidence of the widespread acceptance of

the new Georgian mindset (Zierden 1995). New notions of gentrified language, a new sense of respectability and knowledge of the proper way to dress, behave, etc. took hold during this period (Martin 1995).

Emulation, or the practice of the 'middling sort', seeking to acquire the social graces and material goods of the gentry, became the hallmark of eighteenth-century England and colonial Anglo-America. There was nothing new about the practice of lower social classes seeking to emulate the gentry; the new twist which became the fuel of the fire for the consumer revolution, was the accelerated pace of this emulation during the eighteenth-century. Increased speed of communications of style and refinement via the newspaper during the eighteenth-century, aided in the accelerating pace of consumerism and social emulation (Martin 1995). The new retail general stores, such as the one operated in Williamsburg by John Greenhow, brought new and fresh luxuries, and the latest in fashion, not only to Williamsburg, but to rural areas such as Bedford County, Virginia (Martin 1995). Increased disposable income during the eighteenth-century, enabled the 'middling sort' to purchase status items like blue and white Chinese wares, leaving the wealthier people to seek out new styles of porcelain to keep "in vogue" (Martin 1994:171). This new scale and pace of consumerism and the race by the upper classes to remain constantly ahead of the 'middling sort',

in part, fueled the demand for new styles and decorative motifs on Chinese wares.

This consumer revolution accelerated as increasing numbers of both Britains and Virginians came to possess a greater amount of disposable income after about 1680. Merchants, tradesmen, shopkeepers, doctors, lawyers and the younger sons of the 'landed gentry' came to possess a greater amount of disposable income during the early years of the eighteenth-century (Kilburn, personal communication 1992). From careful study of colonial American probate inventories by Lois Carr, Lorena Walsh and Carole Shammass, it has been noted that by 1720 in colonial America every economic level of colonial society was possessing some of the "genteel amenities", one of which was Chinese porcelain (Bushman 1992:184).

The major force fueling the British and colonial Virginian's drive to acquire Chinese porcelain, was the growing fashion of, and increasing demand for Chinese tea (figure 16). Although there are references to the medicinal qualities of tea in English newspapers as early as 1658 (Emmerson 1992:1), The Honorable East India Company initially imported Chinese tea only in 1669 (Chaudhuri 1978:appendix 5) and not in any quantity until 1678 (Emmerson 1992:1). Throughout the eighteenth-century in England and Virginia the most "classy" thing to do was to serve guests tea in nothing else, but the durable, and fashionable Chinese wares of the period (Figure 17). In



Figure 16. 'Cia sive Te Herba', A 1668 copper engraving depicting the tea plant and the drinking of tea. From A. Kircher, *Toonneel van China*, etc. Amsterdam. (Source: Jorg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, page 87).



Figure 17. A circa 1750 overglaze enamelled Chinese porcelain saucer showing European merchants inspecting the packing of the tea. Prinsessehof Museum, Leeuwarden, Netherlands. (Source: Jorg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, page 98).

addition, to being appealing to the eye, it was taken as fact during the eighteenth-century that, "...the new drink of tea tasted at its best from chinaware..." (Howard 1994:15). As one Chinese ceramicist, M.L. Solon, has said, "It was accepted as a fact that a full enjoyment of the fragrant beverage (tea) could only be obtained when it was sipped out of the very dainty vessels made use of by the Chinese" (Lloyd Hyde 1964:8). With regard to the suitability of Chinese wares in the social beverage consumption practices of the eighteenth-century another scholar has commented,

"Vessels of Chinese porcelain met the needs of the new exotic beverages, such as tea, coffee, and chocolate, the fashionable milk and cream, and the newly imported wines, much better than the sturdy old bellarmine, posset pots, and earthen tankards which had seemed so wonderful to the Elizabethans, and the pewter, Delft, and Italian majolica which appeared so satisfactory in the reign of Queen Anne" (Gorely 1950:14).

The delicacy of the Chinese wares, their translucency, combined with their ability to hold very hot liquids without breakage, put the Chinese wares in a class by themselves and sent the British potters on a quest to discover the secret of the Chinese porcelain manufacture. On this subject, John C. Austin, former Curator of Ceramics at Colonial Williamsburg, has argued that Chinese porcelain was, "...more durable and heat resistant, it (Chinese porcelain) was also ultrafashionable" (Austin 1994:27).

The American colonists, particularly those in urban centers like Williamsburg, were quick to imitate the British

in their incorporation of tea drinking into their daily routine during the eighteenth-century. There exist numerous references of travellers to America remarking on the increased importance of tea drinking in the colonies. The Baron Cromot du Bourg wrote during his visit to America in 1781 that the citizens of Boston, "...take a great deal of tea in the morning...about five o'clock they take more tea, some wine Madeira and punch" (Sherrill 1915: 155). The serving of tea to guests, became a mark of sociability, gentility, and the use of Chinese wares as part of the equipage signalled the best in good taste, and distinction. Tea became the preferred social drink, and such a mark of respectability that eighteenth-century families chose to have their family portrait painted while sitting down to take Tea (figures 18,19)(Roth 1961:62).

Historians have commented on the phenomenon of the consumer craze for the Chinese wares during the eighteenth-century, "...no mania for material objects has ever been so widespread, so general to the rich of all nations" as was the eighteenth-century Chinese wares (Mc Kendrick, Brewer, and Plumb 1982:101). Indeed, the exotic Chinese porcelains were a commodity which the British and colonial Americans of the eighteenth-century sought to acquire. Speaking of the demand for the Chinese wares, one author colorfully writes, "Well-heeled consumers, driven by the unpredictable prick of fashion smoldered with lust for anything made in China. Silk, tea and laquerware became indispensable marks of



Figure 18. *Family Taking Tea*. English School, circa 1735. Victoria and Albert Museum, Crown Copyright. (Source: Sheaf and Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargos*, page 104).

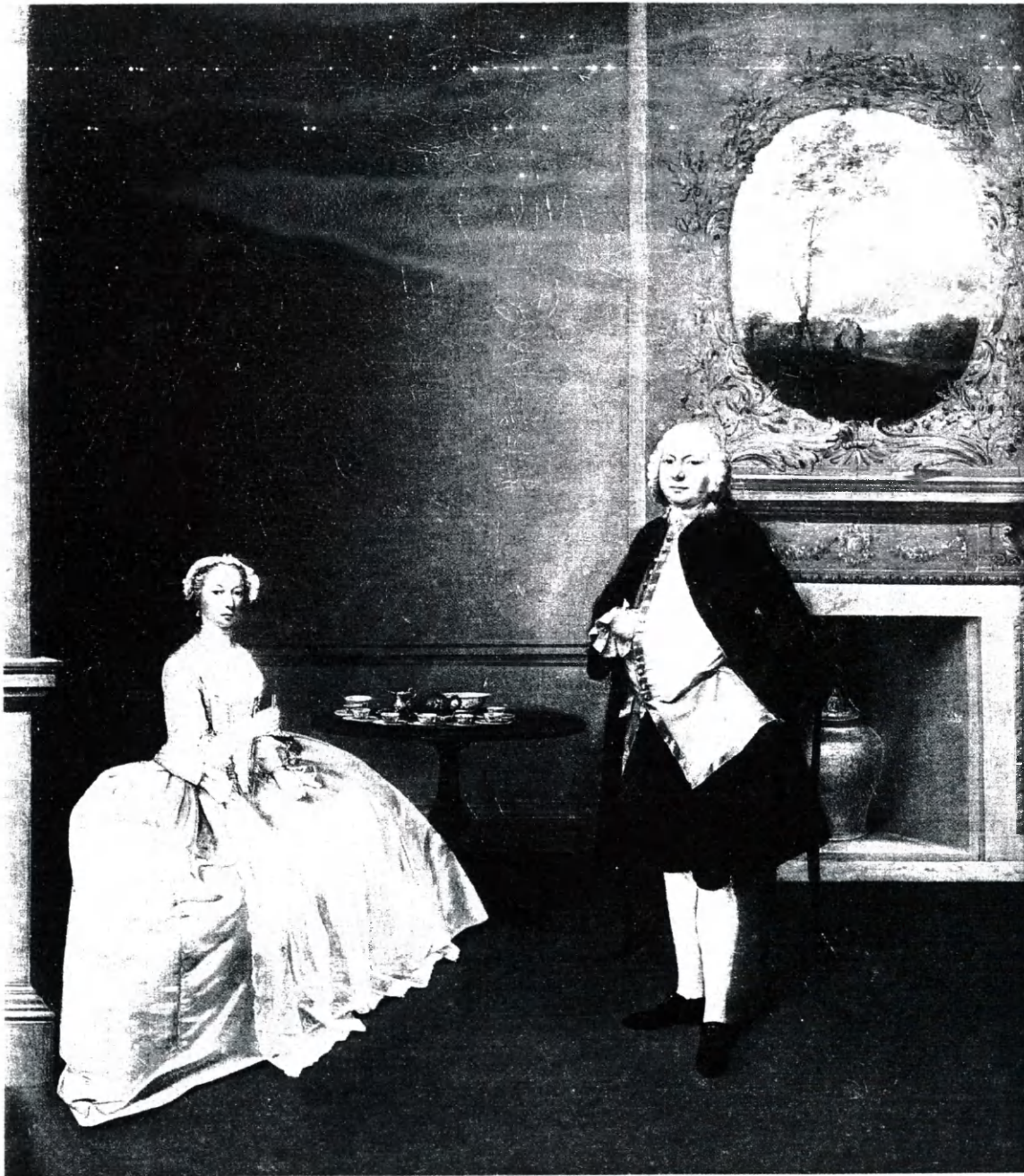


Figure 19. *Mr. and Mrs Hill*. An eighteenth-century portrait painted by Arthur Devis (1708–1787). Dated to the second quarter of the eighteenth-century. Illustrates the importance of Chinese porcelain as an indicator of gentility. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. (Source: Sheaf and Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargos*, page 105).

status, as did, especially, fine porcelain" (St. John Erickson 1995:J1).

The presence of China and Chinese porcelain teawares in households of all economic levels by the 1740's in Williamsburg, affirms the appeal and demand for tea drinking from the gentile and socially respected exotic Chinese wares (Austin 1994:27). Indeed, by the 1760's and 1770's, twenty to thirty percent of the rural county residents in the Chesapeake with poor probate inventories had some form of teawares (Stone 1976; Gregory 1987; Carr and Walsh 1993).

The increasing demand for the proper Chinese wares, which together, formed the equipage necessary for the proper serving of tea, caused the Honorable East India Company to increase the importation of teawares; tea pots, tea bowls, saucers, etc. during the eighteenth-century. Overall figures during the height of the British trade with China, illustrate the enormous demand for the Chinese tea wares. During the eighteenth-century, it was not uncommon for the porcelain cargo, aboard the East India Company vessels to carry as much as two-thirds of its porcelain as teawares. Often, this figure was over ninety percent teawares (Kilburn, personal communication 1992). The high percentage of Chinese porcelain teawares imported by the Honorable East India Company, is echoed by the eighteenth-century archaeological evidence as archaeologists have regularly excavated a higher percentage of teawares versus tablewares

on historic sites in Tidewater, Virginia (White 1991:103-104).

The importation of the vast quantities of Chinese wares at the time of the consumer revolution, created the impetus for the production and introduction of new Staffordshire produced ceramics and new kinds of specialty stores in London and the colonies. The wide popularity of the Chinese wares spawned the growth, marketing and development of English wares to compete with the exotic Chinese wares (Miller et al 1989:1). Aside from the development and production of English soft-paste imitations of the Chinese wares at Bow and Chelsea, numerous Staffordshire potters, among them, the brothers Elers, who dealt in Chinese wares purchased at the East India Company auctions in London (Godden 1979:38), and who, by 1690 (Howard and Ayer 1978:106), were producing an imitation red dry-bodied stoneware in imitation of the Chinese Yixing (Mountford 1971:32; Godden 1979:38) reddish bodied stonewares, (figure 20) manufactured in the Chinese town of Yixing in the province of Kiangsu and brought to England aboard the East India Company vessels. In addition, in Delft the de Milde brothers were imitating the Yixing stonewares by the 1670's and after about 1710 at Meissen in Germany, Bottger was manufacturing an imitation of the Chinese stonewares as well (Howard and Ayers 1978:106). The red bodied stoneware imitation of the Chinese Yixing reddish-brown wares made by the brothers Elers, gave inspiration to the development of



Figure 20. Four Yixing reddish-brown stoneware teapots, circa 1750, from the 1752 shipwreck of the Dutch East Indiaman, *Geldermalsen*. (Source: Sheaf and Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargos*, page 150).

lead glazed redwares such as Astbury as well as black dry bodied wares known as Black Basalts (Edwards 1994:20,32-33). A Black Basalt teapot bearing a pseudo-Chinese mark on the base was excavated from the Travis site in Williamsburg, Virginia (Noel Hume 1969:34). Yixing stonewares also served as models for the making of Staffordshire White Salt-glazed Stoneware vessels (Mountford 1971:32).

The creation of tin-enamelled earthenware, or Delftware in both Holland and England during the seventeenth-century, was the direct result of the appeal and increasing demand for the Chinese wares (Scholten 1995:195; The Virginia Gazette 1995:2B 1/25/95; St. John Erickson 1995:J1). A great number of early seventeenth-century barrel shaped mugs, straight-sided posset pots and wine bottle forms were decorated with cobalt blue in designs which were "direct imitations" (Garner and Archer 1948:6) of Ming dynasty Chinese motifs. Indeed, during the eighteenth-century English tin-enamelled wares were produced by the British potters in direct imitation of the Chinese style, to compete with the popular and exotic Chinese wares (Austin 1994: 27). In short, much of the history of the English ceramic industry during the eighteenth-century is inextricably intertwined with the Chinese export trade, and the demand for and appeal of the exotic Chinese wares. The enamelling techniques, color combinations and motifs of the Chinese porcelain painters were the inspiration for the polychrome

Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware enamelers (Mountford 1971:58-59).

It is a testament to the skill, ingenuity and craftsmanship of the Chinese potters at Jingdezhen that their wares were able to captivate the British and colonial American ceramic market as they did, and leave the English potters scratching their heads, as to how best to compete with the increasingly affordable and high quality exotic Chinese wares.

Indeed, the trade between the British and Americans with China during the eighteenth-century is a fascinating aspect of the consumer revolution, for it was not just that the Chinese were manufacturing mass quantities of bulk wares without the input and requirements of the British and American trading Companies, merchants and consumers. The story of the China trade is one of cultural interaction and exchange between Western cultures and the Chinese culture. The Western consumers demanded the latest in fashion and style in the form of decorative motif, as well as vessel shape, and the Chinese eagerly responded to the western demands. As Chinese porcelain scholar John Goldsmith Phillips wrote, "The double imprint of East and West is the ware's distinctive hallmark" (Phillips 1956:xix).

Testaments to the dynamic cross-cultural interaction between the Honorable East India Company and the Chinese porcelain makers can be found in the wide variety of Chinese porcelain which was specially made for the British, as well

as the other European countries, in Western shapes. This trend seems to have first begun with a Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.) order for salt cellars, wide-rimmed dinner plates and mustard pots, all to be copied by the Chinese potters from wooden models. Soon the Dutch diversified their requests for other Western forms, such as the beaker, barber bowl, chalices, flowerpots, oil and vinegar sets, wine coolers, caudle cups and chamber pots (Palmer 1978:19-20).

An interesting aspect of the Chinese imitation of the Western forms is the occasional unintentional mistake by the Chinese potter. An example of this is a Chinese *blanc de chine* mug (figure 13). At first glance, this piece appears to be an excellent reproduction of a Dwight Fulham-type stoneware mug, but if one looks at the base of the handle it is evident that the handle stops, leaving a small blank space in the otherwise well formed handle. Evidently, the Fulham stoneware mug serving as the example had the handle pressed so tightly against the body of the mug that it appeared to the Chinese potter that the handle was actually in two pieces, and the Chinese potter faithfully reproduced the porcelain example as he thought it was supposed to look like (Palmer 1978:21).

Contrary to some firmly held misconceptions, many of the Chinese blue and white porcelain motifs did change periodically throughout the eighteenth-century, in part as a response to the European East India Company's requests for

the latest in style and taste. For example, the list of "*Orders and Instructions*" given to the supercargos of the Honorable East India Company ship, the *Loyal Bliss* from 1712 in appendix B, is very specific with regard to the styles of decorative motif which is desired. A partial listing of the orders for the *Loyal Bliss* indicates that the Company wanted to purchase,

"Handle Chocolattes, upright of these two Sorts, Twenty Thousand of the biggest blue and white of different Flowers. Ten thousand Ditto the smaller Sort w.th brown Edges Ten Thousand", and "Plates...in Collours and Gold with much Scarlet, gold edge with a variety of Patterns", and "Cups...in Collours sorts to be painted after the Japan pattern as these or such like Twenty Thousand" (India Office Library, E/3/97, pp669/671)

The diaries of the supercargos themselves, give specific and detailed information concerning their purchases of Chinaware during the eighteenth-century. A partial list of some of the Chinese wares which were purchased by the supercargos of the Honorable East India Company ships, the *Duke of Cambridge*, the *Montagu*, the *Princess Anne*, and the *Hartford*, all in Canton from July 1723 through January 1724, again illustrates that the Honorable East India Company was purchasing specific wares with specific decorative qualities, which were in fashion and would sell well at the Company's auctions in Leadenhall Street in London. Among the Chinese porcelains purchased in 1723 and recorded in the supercargo's diary was,

"150 Nests Soop Dishes, Gold & Colours, fluted & Gold Rim, 5 in a Nest, at 2000 plates to Do, @

200 Nests Dishes, Gold & Colors, baskett flower & g'd
 Rim, 5 in a Nest, at 4000 plates to Do, @
 330 Nests Dishes, Gold & Col'rs, Bamboo Tree & gold
 Rim, 5 in a Nest, at 2000 plates to Do, @
 300 Nests Dishes, diff't Col'rs, Paddy, Bird & Deer,
 Gold Rim, 5 in a Nest, @ 6000 plates to Do, @"
 (Farrington :46-49)

In sum, eighteenth-century Chinese wares formed an integral part of English and colonial Virginian's social practices during the colonial and early Federal periods. The exotic and classically fashionable Chinese wares played a crucial role in the new eighteenth-century consumer revolution as an increasing number of the 'middling sort' in both England and Virginia, purchased the increasingly affordable Chinese wares. The eighteenth-century Chinese export trade also served to ignite the British quest for the secrets of the Chinese manufacture of porcelain, and caused the creation, development and marketing of the British ceramic ware types: tin-enamelled earthenware or Delftware, Elers ware, Astbury, Black Basalt, soft-paste porcelain and Josiah Wedgwood's Pearlware. Compared to any other British ware type of the period, Chinese wares set the standard of fashion during the eighteenth-century and remained in demand by both the British and Virginia consumer throughout the eighteenth-century.

CHAPTER III

Date Ranges, Detailed Descriptions and Photographs
of Seventeen Landmark Changes in Chinese Export Porcelain
During the Eighteenth-Century.

Introduction of the Fifteen Chronologically Significant Decorative Motifs and Two Color Palettes Common to Eighteenth-Century Chinese Export Wares, and the Problems of Dating Chinese Porcelains:

This chapter chronicles the development, identification, description, and illustration of fifteen eighteenth-century datable decorative styles and motifs: Imari (1700-1760); An Hua (1710-1760); Blue Trellis (1690-1790), Blue Spearhead (1735-1770), Grape-and-Bamboo (1730-1760), 'Fish Roe' (1750-1765), five Late Eighteenth-Century Bands and Lines (1765-1810), three Nanking/Fitzhugh (1764-1820) styles, Canton (1785-1853) and two overglaze enamel color palettes: Famille Verte (1680-1730), and Famille Rose (1720-1800) which are common to eighteenth-century Chinese wares found of historic archaeology sites throughout the Mid-Atlantic region.

The color palettes, decorative styles and motifs were chosen specifically for their ease of identification for archaeologists, their frequency of appearance in eighteenth-century archaeological contexts and for their documented chronological value.

As Sir Harry Garner, Chinese ceramic scholar has written, "There can be no doubt that oriental porcelain

presents special difficulties in identification" (Garner 1954:65). Another scholar of Chinese porcelain told me that, "The classification and dating of eighteenth-century wares is a daunting task, due to the enormous array of designs, motifs and shapes which were produced" (Kilburn, personal communication, 1993). Historical archaeologists have often assumed that Chinese porcelains, particularly the underglaze blue and white wares, cannot be dated very accurately because they perceive the decorative motifs to be unchanging, and reoccurring for centuries. In part, this is very true for Chinese painters, including porcelain painters frequently used and reused decorative motifs, and elements over the centuries, making the attribution of decorative motifs particularly troublesome. Indeed, the *blue trellis* motif, as discussed in this thesis, had been used on Chinese wares from the fourteenth-century onwards (Kilburn, personal communication, 1995), although it first appears on Kangxi period wares about 1690 and continues to be used until about 1790. Likewise the *blue spearhead* motif had its antecedents on early Ming dynasty wares (Kilburn, personal communication, 1995), and it was used again during the early seventeenth-century, and appears again on eighteenth-century wares between about 1735 to 1770.

In fact, the whole of Chinese design is based on, "...copying, learning and...reinterpreting past styles" (Kilburn, personal communication, 1995). While the Chinese art painting techniques relied on using and reusing motifs

which could be several hundred years old, there were also motifs, and decorative patterns which were derived and used during specific decades of the eighteenth-century. For example, the '*fish roe*' motif, does not have antecedents in previous centuries and is peculiar to the mid eighteenth-century Chinese wares. Thus, specific, and common, Chinese repetitive motifs appear and reappear throughout the centuries, and the dates, illustrations and examples of the *blue trellis* and *blue spearhead* motifs as documented in this thesis, represent their appearance on Chinese wares of the eighteenth-century.

Adding to the confusion surrounding the ability to date Chinese porcelains, is the long period of their manufacture, during which time there were very few technological changes taking place. Chinese porcelain wares were perfected and made almost continuously for over one thousand years, underglaze blue and white wares for over six hundred (Garner 1954:65). The long tradition of porcelain manufacture in China combined with the repetition of motifs used in previous centuries has left the historical archaeologist with very few guides to the identification and dating of eighteenth-century Chinese wares, such as those excavated in Tidewater Virginia.

A great deal of the confusion surrounding the identification of chronologically significant decorative motifs of Chinese wares, has arisen from the wealth of documented sources for the dating of Chinese wares which are

art historical in nature. Such resources often require specialized and exceptionally detailed knowledge of techniques of the history of Chinese painting, brush work, shading, even poetry. Indeed, the wealth of literature suggests that one should possess a good working knowledge of centuries of development of the Chinese wares in order to understand the later eighteenth-century export wares. Thoughts about this commonly read, "To understand fully any particular group of blue and white it is necessary to know a good deal about the rest. In particular, the early Chinese blue and white of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries cannot be properly understood without knowledge of the later copies of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties" (Garner 1954:78). While it would certainly be of great benefit to understand the subtle changes, and decorative traditions of each period of Chinese ceramic history, it is well beyond the scope of research for most historical archaeologists who have to interpret the past by analyzing many different ceramic ware types from many different countries.

Adding to the perplexity concerning the dating of Chinese wares, is that much of the criteria, reasoning and justifications used to date a specific vessel of Chinese porcelain is very subjective, ambiguous and difficult to "pin down". Descriptive, but confusing phrases are used such as, "...a floral motif with lines of Ming width..." (Beals and Steele 1981:7), or "...glaze bubbles and opacity characteristic of late Ming work" (Beals and

Steele 1981:7), or "...generally there is a loss of vigor as we pass from the fourteenth century through the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties..." (Garner 1954:72), and "...the dark purplish blue of the Chia Chang period..." (Garner 1954:69). It is naturally quite difficult for non-specialists in the history of Chinese ceramics to accurately interpret, and apply these criteria to the dating of Chinese wares. The novice scholar of Chinese porcelain does not have enough background knowledge to recognize the difference between brush strokes, and calligraphic techniques of "Ming width" (1368-1644) and brush strokes of the Kangxi (1622-1722), or Ch'ien Lung/Qian Long (1736-1795) periods. Much of the Chinese porcelain literature assumes familiarity with such qualitative differences and hence the problem of distinguishing seventeenth-century Chinese wares from eighteenth-century examples, lingers on in the discipline of historical archaeology like a bad cold.

Further compounding the problem, is that the Chinese character, or reign marks, usually painted in underglaze cobalt blue underneath the vessel are not necessarily valid indicators of the date or period of manufacture. Reign marks, or *nien hao* as they are known, while referring to a particular reigns of particular emperors, are not always helpful, as these marks were not only used during the reign of the emperor, but often they were used centuries later as a way of paying homage or respect to a previous emperor (Hobson 1915:208; Beals and Steele 1981:7). Thus, accurate

dating by reference to such marks should be viewed with extreme caution. There are known Chinese porcelain vessels with marks indicating the day, month and year of the painting of particular vessels however this convention was used mainly for wares produced for domestic use, and for presentation to a temple (Garner 1954:76).

The descriptions and documentation within this chapter is an attempt to rectify the deficit of knowledge concerning datable changes in the Chinese use of color palettes, and decorative styles and motifs of both overglaze enamelled and underglaze blue and white Chinese wares during the eighteenth-century. While only covering a very small number of the myriad of decorative styles and motifs common to eighteenth-century Chinese wares (there are numerous other chronologically significant decorative motifs), those documented here represent some of the most easily recognizable, chronologically significant and commonly encountered on archaeological sites of the eighteenth-century.

Famille Verte (1680-1730): Famille verte, or the 'green family', (figures 21,22) had its origin, and is based on the overglaze color combination of the *wucai*, or five color wares, of the late Ming dynasty period (Hobson 1928:56; Scott 1992:10; Sheaf and Sheaf and Kilburn 1988 :54). Famille verte is the designation for a 'new' color palette developed from and based on the Ming *wucai* overglaze enamel

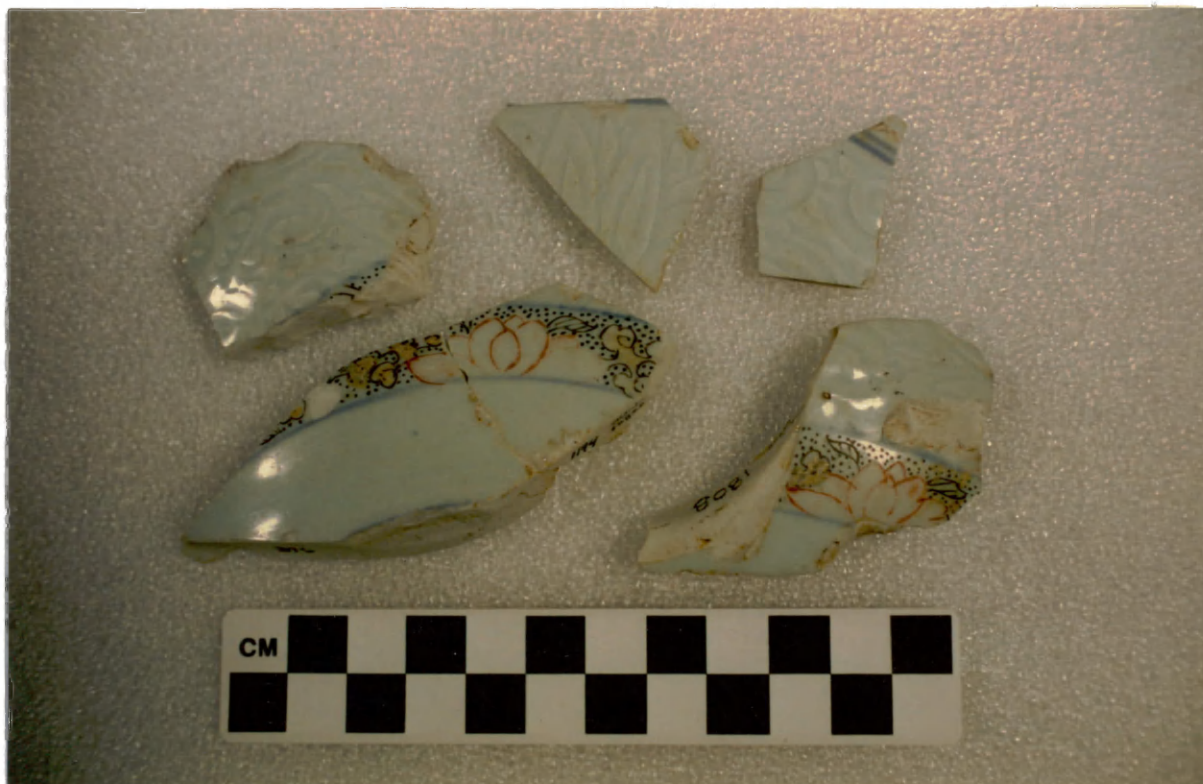


Figure 21. Sherds of a *famille verte* and an *hua* decorated bowl excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1680-1730. (COLO-J-63,922 FS1808).



Figure 22. A *famille verte* decorated teapot, c. 1710. (Source: Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader*, page 146).

color combination, and is *not* a specific decorative motif or motifs. The *famille verte* color palette was one of many new decorative innovations of the Chinese which mark the beginning of the wares from the Kangxi period (1664–1722).

Although colored enamels were used to embellish Ming dynasty porcelain wares, these enamelled wares were not produced for the export market (Howard and Ayers 1978:22). The term *famille verte*, and the later eighteenth-century color palette, *famille rose*, were coined by A. Jacquemart in his 1862 book entitled *Histoire de la Porcelaine*, and has been the accepted term when referring to this new late seventeenth-early eighteenth-century color palette. The term *famille verte*, was never actually used by the Chinese porcelain producers, or enamelers, nor by the eighteenth-century European supercargos whose responsibility it was to order, and receive the porcelain for the various East India Companies.

The tight fifty year duration of the manufacture of the *famille verte* color palette is well documented, and the terminal date is now recognized as 1730, when the newer, more fashionable and preferred *famille rose* color palette gained wide popularity in Europe (Howard 1974:39,116; Howard 1991:22; Kilburn, personal communication 1995). Chinese ceramic scholar Geoffrey Godden notes that, "In general terms the *famille verte* style is restricted to the approximate period 1700–1730. Most falls within the Kangxi period which ended in 1722" (Godden 1979:174) However,

other scholars have suggested late seventeenth-century dates for the commencement of the *famille verte* style, 1682 (Beurdeley 1962:30), about 1690 (Lloyd Hyde 1964:73), and subsequent research by Rosemary Scott has pushed the date of origin of the *famille verte* palette back to approximately 1680 (Scott 1992). The main peak of popularity of the *famille verte* palette seems to be from 1700–1720, during the period of increased trade with Europe, particularly Britain and increased demand for the Chinese wares (Howard 1991:21).

The first commissioned Chinese porcelain decorated with the *famille verte* palette is a hexagonal jardiniere made for shipbuilder Henry Johnson, between 1693 and 1698. The earliest armorial porcelains produced using the *famille verte* palette, occur soon after the turn of the eighteenth-century, the first documented to have been made for the de Vassey family, inscribed 'ET PEINE CROISSANT ANO 1702' (Howard 1974:36). The earliest armorial in *famille verte* made for the British market, were two services produced in 1715 for Mr. Speaker Compton and Sir Matthew Decker (Howard 1974:38). It is not surprising that there do not exist pre-1700 armorial porcelains decorated in the *famille verte* palette, because Mr. Howard's research on armorial porcelains has shown that the vast majority of these services were ordered after 1700 (Howard 1974:36).

It has been noted that the *famille verte* porcelains produced for the export market, are often difficult to distinguish from those produced for the Chinese domestic

market (Scheurleer 1974:78; Honey 1927:49; Howard 1991:21). It was during this late seventeenth-century renaissance of the Chinese porcelain industry, that the *famille verte*, or 'green family' palette was devised, its development and perfection occurring between 1677 and 1683 (Little 1983:20). *Famille verte* gained wide popularity among Western consumers in Holland, England and appears in the early eighteenth-century colonial Chesapeake from archaeological contexts in Williamsburg and Jamestown.

The *famille verte* color palette included the use of five different transparent, or "liquid, semi-translucent" (Godden 1979: 174) overglaze enamels, green in a variety of shades, yellow, purple or aubergine and brown, and an "over-saturated opaque" (Scott 1992:10) iron red (Dauterman 1957:59) in combination to produce dramatic, and life-like floral, and foliate scenes. There were two opaque colors of the *famille verte* palette, an 'under-enamel' black and a 'coral red' (Hobson 1928:56), which could be used to make an opaque brown (Scott 1992: 13). The *famille verte* colors have been referred to as being not unlike the Whieldon-type colors used by the Staffordshire potters of the mid eighteenth-century (Godden 1979:174). The black was 'fixed' to the vessel, by painting a transparent pale green enamel on top of the black (Scott 1992:10). The largely transparent, water-color like enamels, of the *famille verte* palette were very thin.

Two semi-translucent shades of green, an apple green and an olive green, formed the basis, and dominant color of the *famille verte* palette. The green was usually the predominate color of the *famille verte* enameled scene. A notable characteristic of the *famille verte* greens, is that they were used in varying shades from a deep, but transparent green to a very light and pale green, and several shades of green could be used on the leaves on one tree (Beurdeley 1962:30). Thus the Chinese enameler had a wide array of greens to select from, creating lively, natural and attractive foliate scenes. The Chinese enamelers obtained an attractive appearance of depth of color by "piling up" (Hobson 1928:56) the thin, transparent enamels in thick washes.

The production of *famille verte* porcelain began with the initial potting, glazing by dipping or spraying (Howard 1974:36), and subsequent initial firing of the vessel. Often, an underglaze blue border, accent and rim decoration were applied, serving as a dark cobalt blue to contrast with the delicate, transparent *famille verte* colors. The fired, stark white, vessel was then painted with a combination of translucent, or see-through watery colors in the colors mentioned above, and fired a second time at a lower temperature to 'fix' the colors.

Father d'Entrecolles noted during his stay in China during the early eighteenth-century, that the enamel colors of the *famille verte* palette were mixed with both gum and

water (Schuerleer 1974:34). The enamelling of the *famille verte* wares was executed not only at Canton, the principle center of overglaze enamelling, but also in smaller workshops in Jingdezhen as well (Howard 1974:39). The temperatures necessary to fire the new *famille verte* colors was approximately 800 degrees Centigrade, much less than the 1,300 degrees Centigrade required of the initial vessel and feldspathic engobe glaze firing (Howard 1974:39). The *famille verte* colors were often used in combination with both underglaze blue, and an overglaze blue characteristic of the *famille verte* palette.

Although gilding on Chinese porcelain for export began during Ming times (Kilburn, personal communication, 1995), it was previously thought that the first gold overglaze enamelling was added to the bulk Chinese export wares about 1702 (Scott 1992:10). The newly discovered probate inventory of Richard Springold, "Merchant late in Arabia", lists the descriptions and values of 5,100 vessels of Chinese porcelain taken in 1681 lists "36 small gilded potts China", indicating that the practice of gilding export wares dated to the late seventeenth-century (Kilburn, personal communication, 1995). The application of the gold, which tended to rub off quite easily, necessitated a third firing to 'fix' the gold (Scheurleer 1974:34). Father d'Entrecolles accounts of the production of porcelain written between 1712 and 1722 detail the refinement of the gold enamelling process indicating,

"When one wishes to apply gold, one grinds it and mixes it in the bottom of a porcelain vessel until one sees a little cloud of gold in the bottom of the water. One allows it to dry and then uses it by mixing it with a sufficient amount of gummed water. With 30 parts gold one incorporates three parts of white lead, and the one applies it to the porcelain just like a coloured glaze" (Scott 1992:11).

Typical overglaze enamelled scenes executed in the *famille verte* palette, in addition to floral and foliate, include, "...landscapes, birds on a branch, a vase with flowers, scenes on or below the terrace of a house, showing for instance an audience with an emperor or dignitary, or boating on a lotus pond" (Scheurleer 1974:79), and the well known "peony thicket" (Beurdeley 1962:30) pattern.

A wide variety of vessel forms were produced in the *famille verte* palette including the full range of teawares: teabowls, saucers, tea pots; and even large vessels such as garnitures, and vases (Scott 1992:10).

Famille verte enamels were often thickly applied, and often did not fuse well to the glaze which caused them to flake off of the highly glassy feldspathic glaze underneath the enamels (Godden 1979:174). This tendency toward flaking is further exacerbated in the soil environment of an archaeological site, hence often only small patches, or traces of the *famille verte* enamels are apparent by careful observation of excavated sherds.

Since it is known that the British did not import sizable quantities of Chinese porcelain to London until the 1690's (Curtis 1988:28), it is reasonable to assume that the

majority of the *famille verte* wares found on archaeological sites in the Chesapeake date to 1690–1730. Having said that, it is documented that the number of pieces of Chinese porcelain dated to 1700–1720 found on archaeological sites in the Virginia Tidewater is quite small, compared to the mid and late eighteenth-centuries (Curtis 1988:56). However, sherds of three dishes and one plate of Chinese porcelain in the *famille verte* pattern have been recovered near the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, as well as a tea bowl and plate decorated in *famille verte* with underglaze blue and designs incised into the fabric, a technique known as *an hua* (Curtis 1988:56). Fragments of an octagonal cup with a Bavarian-style exterior and *famille verte* interior were recovered from the Thomas Jones cellar fill, a context with a date of deposition dating to between 1740–1755. *Famille verte* wares have also been found at Jamestown Island. During the early eighteenth-century the possession of Chinese porcelains was largely confined to the upper classes, hence it is comparatively less frequently encountered archaeologically as compared with the later *famille rose* palette. The sparse archaeological findings of *famille verte* wares is no surprise, as during the late seventeenth, early eighteenth-centuries Chinese wares were largely the possessions of the wealthy gentry, and nobility, particularly the more expensive overglaze enamelled wares such as *famille verte*.

Famille Rose (1720–1800): As with *famille verte*, the term *famille rose*, or 'pink family' (Howard 1991:22), was coined by A. Jacquemart in his 1862 book entitled, *Histoire de la Porcelaine*. Definitions of the term *famille rose* can be found in the literature and one by noted Chinese ceramicist John Goldsmith Phillips reads, "The term *famille rose* designates the most popular style of porcelain painting in eighteenth-century China and includes all porcelains in which one of the enamel pigments is of an opaque rose-pink color" (Phillips 1956:60) (figures 23–25). Another by Dr. George C. Williamson, author of *The Book of Famille Rose*, reads,

"The *Famille Rose* decoration is decoration in which the prominent color is pink, a pink in various shades from the very palest possible tone to a deep, strong, brilliant colour, very marked and noticeable. It does not really matter how much pink there is in the decoration, if the pink which has been made from the salts of gold is present, then the pieces are declared to be *Famille Rose*" (Williamson 1970:77)

In contrast to the semi-transparent, watery colors of the *famille verte* palette, completely opaque, or nearly opaque, often blended (Scott 1992:12) and "viscous-looking" (Dauterman 1957:59) enamels made of metallic oxide pigments suspended in a lead glaze (Clunas et al 1987:48) were the hallmark of the *famille rose* palette which came to captivate the attention of the West from about 1730–1800. The use of underglaze blue and red with the *famille rose* palette was very rare (Beurdeley 1962:31). Along with the main pink color, also referred to as a "bright, piquant rose-color"

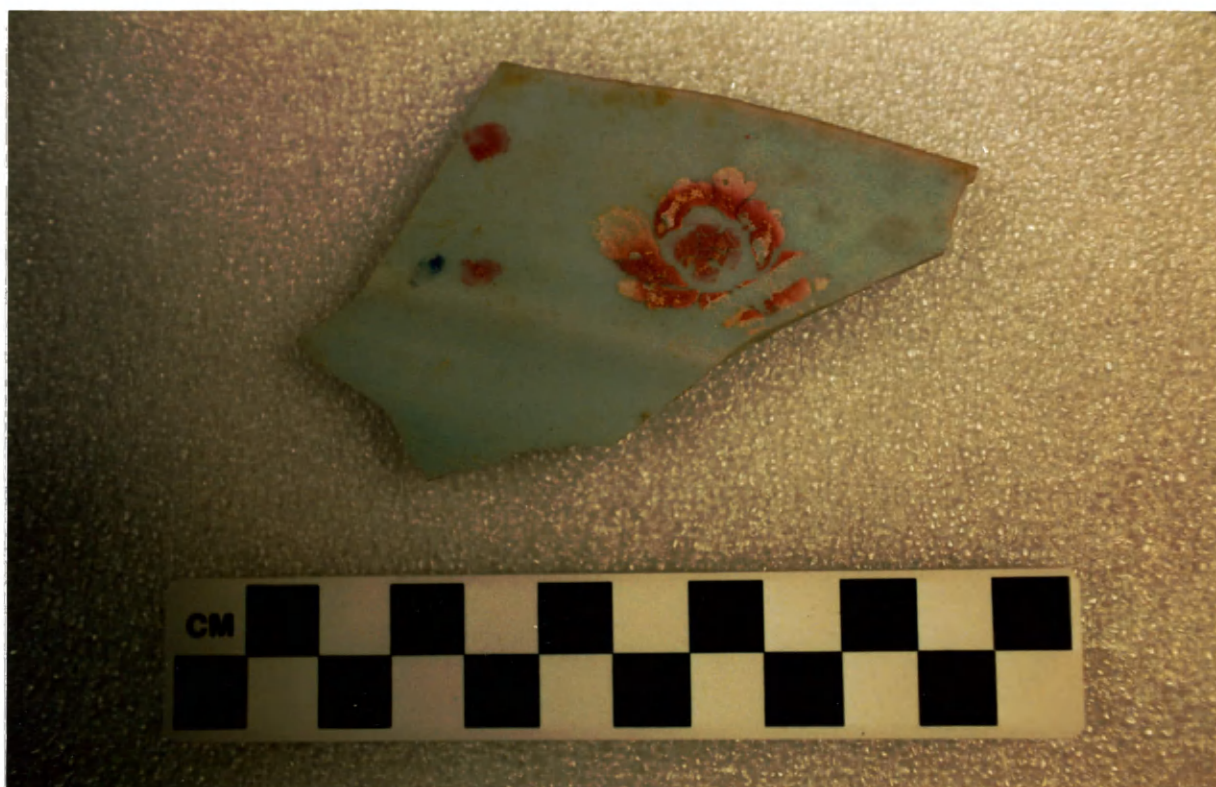


Figure 23. Sherd of a *famille rose* decorated platter excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1720-1800. (COLO-J-63,989 NO DATA).



Figure 24. A *famille rose* decorated teapot with "chain-keeper", c. 1740-1765. (Author's collection).



Figure 25. A *famille rose* decorated saucer, c. 1720–1800.
(Author's collection).

(Williamson 1970:51), or "crimson-purple" and "rose-pink" (Howard and Ayers 1978:147), the other colors of the main *famille rose* palette included green, derived by the Chinese from oxide of copper (Williamson 1970:57) blue, from cobalt oxide or carbonate fused with quartz with the addition of oxide of zinc and carbonate of sodium (Williamson 1970:57), purple or aubergine derived from manganese ore (Williamson 1970:61), red from peroxide of iron (Williamson 1970:61), turquoise from binoxide of copper (Williamson 1970:61) and a bright yellow, as well as a new opaque white (Scheurleer 1974:35; Scott 1992:12). Often, overglazing gilding or sepia (Beurdeley 1962:31) was added to the decoration, necessitating another firing (Scheurleer 1974:35).

Previously it was thought that the pink enamel which formed the basis of the *famille rose* palette was the fabled 'purple of Cassius' first produced by Andreas Cassius of Leyden, in the middle of the seventeenth-century, and introduced by the European enamelers (Phillips 1956:60-61; Beurdeley 1962:30; Williamson 1970:51). Recent scholarship has indicated that microscopic analysis has revealed that this is untrue. Microscopic observation of the rose-pink enamel, reveals that there were "red particles immersed in a clear lead-potassium-silicate glass. The color was due to tiny colloidal particles of gold" (Scott 1992:12). The Chinese enamel had a noticeably lower gold and tin content than the European 'purple of Cassius', and it was concluded that the pink enamel was created by producing a 'ruby' glass

which was then ground up as a pigment, mixed in a colorless, transparent enamel, reducing the cost and facilitating an even coloration of the enamel (Scott 1992:12). Bright purple was achieved by grinding up the 'ruby' glass and mixing it with a clear blue matrix.

The newly developed colors of opaque yellow, made with lead-stannate rather than antimony, and an opaque white, made of a lead arsenate, were lead-alkali-silicates, as opposed to the earlier enamels which were simple lead-silicates (Scott 1992:12). An important chronological aspect of the new white enamel was that it was completely opaque, as well as matt in appearance, due to the arsenic base, during the Yung Cheng, or Yongzheng (1723-1735) period (Beurdeley 1962:31). The new opaque white gave the Chinese painters the ability to create colors of all of the "...rose hues from deep ruby to the palest pink" (Mudge 1986:27), as well as being combined with other colors to form pastel colors. The yellow enamel, "became popular about 1728 and was at its height in the early 1730's" (Howard, personal communication 1995). This yellow became, "a hallmark of the mid Yongzheng years between about 1728 and 1734, after which it fairly rapidly disappears - whether on the grounds of style or cost is difficult to know" (Howard 1991:22). The yellow was first seen prominently on an armorial service bearing the arms of the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.), dated 1728, and there are other armorial services with much yellow enamel dated 1730, and 1733 (Howard 1991:22). As with

the age old trends of fashion, the yellow enamel became increasingly out of fashion by the 1740's being used only on "tiny flowers after that date" (Howard, personal communication 1995).

While the *famille verte* palette gained its greatest appeal among the Western consumers of overglaze enamels between 1700-1720, the *famille rose* palette was developed, and introduced between 1700 and 1722 (Howard 1974:43-44; Howard 1991:21; Godden 1979:175; Scott 1992:12). As Mr. David S. Howard says, "Indeed it is the color of the velvet on the coronet which may prove that rose enamel was not known before 1720....It may well be claimed that armorial porcelain dates the earliest *famille rose* to between 1720 and 1722" (Howard 1974:44). This initial starting date of 1720 for the production of the earliest *famille rose* enamelled porcelains, is still the accepted *terminus post quem* for this color palette (Howard, personal communication 1995). Indeed, a Chinese list of the types of porcelain made at the kilns of Jingdezhen, compiled between 1729-1732 by Hsieh Min, the governor of the province of Kiangsi, listed the term 'foreign colors' (yang-ts'ai) (Beurdeley 1962:30), which referred to the *famille rose* enamels (Scheurleer 1974:35).

There was an approximately ten year overlap, from about 1720-1730, of production of Chinese wares decorated in both the *famille verte* and *famille rose* palettes. During this brief period, wares were made using combinations of both the

famille verte and *famille rose* palettes, thus the term 'rose-verte' to describe wares decorated as such (figures 26,27). These wares are dated by Mr. David S. Howard as "...coinciding broadly with the Yongzheng period (1723-1735)" (Howard 1994:63). Although I am unaware of any archaeological examples of *rose-verte* enameled wares, if found archaeologically, they can be dated to the years between 1720-1730, as the *famille rose* enamels were not used on wares prior to about 1720 and the *famille verte* wares were no longer in vogue and ceased to be produced after about 1730.

There is a *famille rose* dated plate of 1721 in the British Museum, verifying the production of this color palette on porcelain for the West by this date (Beurdeley 1962:30). *Famille rose* enamels were used on the armorial service made for Sir John Lambert, who died in February, 1723, and it is known that he placed his order for this service prior to March, 1722 (Howard 1974:43). Another early *famille rose* service was made for Guilo Visconti circa 1722 (Howard 1974:43). Although during the early pre-1730 production of the *famille rose* colors, there were some technical problems and the quality of the early pieces were quite variable, owing to the initial difficulty in firing the new colors properly (Godden 1979:175). The initial problems with the new *famille rose* palette were evident on the first armorial porcelains produced, during the last year of the Kangxi period, using this color scheme. As Mr. David



Figure 26. A *rose-verte* decorated saucer dish, c. 1720–1730. (Source: Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader*, page 63).



Figure 27. A *rose-verte* decorated dish, c. 1720–1730. (Source: Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader*, page 64).

S. Howard maintains, "It remains certain that on armorial porcelain the earliest rose enamel is crude and entirely additional to the main design, as if added by another and less expert hand in a separate firing" (Howard 1974:43). It is known that this color palette "blossomed, flourished and withered" (Howard 1974:43) in typical Deetz seriation style over the course of approximately seventy years, hence the terminal date of 1800 (Howard 1974:43). Another ceramicist, Geoffrey Godden, indicates that the *famille rose* palette remained popular for approximately 50 years (Godden 1979:175).

The creation of the *famille rose* palette, was truly a combined effort of European inspiration and desire combined with the expertise and desire of the Chinese potters and merchants to make a profitable product. Although Pere d'Entrecolles, in China during the early eighteenth-century, posited that the new color palette was the creation of the painters of Jingdezhen, Sir Henry Garner indicated that its origin was in Europe, first being used to enamel copper in Peking (Howard 1974:43). It is known from a letter of Jesuit Father de Mailla dated October 26, 1720, that the Chinese had started experimental work on the *famille rose* palette by 1714 (Howard 1974:44). Jesuit inspired enamelers, such as Brother Giuseppe Castiglione (AD 1688-1766) who has a mark which appeared on the Chinese porcelains painted by him (Davison 1994:181) by 1715, began using opaque enamels to which white arsenic was added, to produce a wide range of

new colors based on a very rich pink, hence the name *famille rose* (Howard 1991:22). In 1719 Brother Gravereau went to China to assist with the practice of enamelling on copper, further helping to refine the use of the new enamels (Godden 1979:175). The pink enamel color which forms the basis of the new palette, is described as a "carmine or plum-color", rather than the "scarlet or bright red", as used during the seventeenth-century onwards (Godden 1979:175). Additionally, a pair of bowls, produced circa 1700, in the Guimet Museum in Paris, are based on the Limoges originals and have the initials "I.L." which were used by Jacques Laudin (1627-1695) and his nephew (1663-1729) who had the same name (Howard 1974:44). The use of these opaque, arsenic additive enamels had been practiced in Limoges, in France (Phillips 1956:60), for over one hundred years prior to the Jesuit introduction of the colors to the Chinese in 1714.

The Jesuits were initially using the colors to enamel copper, when it was decided that the colors could be put to good use by applying them as overglaze enamels to the Chinese porcelains. In eighteenth-century Canton enamelling on copper and porcelain took place in the same factories (Phillips 1956:60). Contemporary Chinese writers referred to the *famille rose* colors as the 'foreign colors' (yang-ts'ai) (Godden 1979:175), or as 'pale colors' (fen-ts'ai), or 'soft colors' (yuan-ts'ai) (Phillips 1956:60; Williamson 1970:59; Scheurleer 1974:34; Krah1 and Ayers

1986:1299). As soon as pieces of the new *famille rose* porcelains, which were more easily fired and could be produced in a wider range of colors, made their way to the West aboard East India Company vessels, they were immediately the fashion, creating the lack of demand for the *famille verte* porcelains and a "rapid decline" (Howard, personal communication 1995) of the *famille verte* palette with the end of the production by approximately 1730 (Howard, personal communication, 1995). As Mr. David S. Howard says about the new popularity of the *famille rose* palette, "Not only was the range of colors greatly increased, but the rose looked so well on the mahogany newly in vogue, while *famille verte* had looked at its best on walnut and blue and white with oak....One can be certain that a trace of rose enamel will not appear before 1720 and little *famille verte* survives after 1730, except for occasional translucent leaves" (Howard 1991:22).

The range of options, not only of color, but of the way the colors could be used, allowed the Chinese enamelers to use the *famille rose* colors with much greater versatility, creating a "more naturalistic style" (Scheurleer 1974:35) than the previous *famille verte* palette. The opaque white and yellow enamels were the key, as they could be successfully mixed with other enamels to create a wide range of colors including pastels, and wide ranges of shades of other colors. Distinct from the *famille verte* enamels, the *famille rose* enamels did not "flow when they melted" (Scott

1992:14). Consequently, they could be used to bring a slightly raised, elevated or three-dimensional relief to the painting, adding to the realism and natural effect which the skillful Chinese painters produced, and which was the fashion in mid-eighteenth-century England and Virginia. After the enamels were painted onto the already once fired and glazed vessels, the wares were placed into an oven, or a "muffle stove" (Phillips 1956:60), which was much smaller than the large furnaces used for firing the underglaze blue and white wares. The heat was controlled for the particular shade of pink desired, with a lower heat producing a red-brown color, with increased heat producing the pink-rose color, and even greater heat producing a spectacular violet color (Phillips 1956:60). The best pink-rose color was obtained at a temperature of approximately 800 degrees Centigrade, much lower than the 1,500 degrees Centigrade required for the initial firing of the porcelain vessel (Phillips 1956:60). A table of the color changes and their relation to their firing to 'fix' them to the porcelain body is found in the excellent work by Dr. George C. Williamson, *The Book of Famille Rose*, first published in 1927 and reprinted in 1970. The range of colors obtainable through skillful control of the kiln was truly impressive.

"At approximately	650	degrees	C.	it is	Red Brown.
"	"	800	"	"	Rose.
"	"	900	"	"	Rose Purple.
"	"	920	"	"	Rose Violet.
"	"	950	"	"	Violet.
"	"	980	"	"	Pale Violet.

floral sherds with gilding were recovered from the Wetherburn's Tavern trash pit in Williamsburg, from a context dated 1753-1762, and several sherds from a *famille rose* plate were recovered from the Thomas Everard, later ravine layer with a deposition date between 1770-1781. Several sherds from matching teabowls and saucers decorated in overglaze *famille rose* flowers and floral festoons, were recovered from the circa 1790-1820 Dr. James McClurg well fill (4BA-850J, 850V). The discovery of these and other Chinese export sherds dating from the 1750's through the 1770's, "...indicates colonial Virginians' status as consumers of ordinary Chinese export ware in a world-wide empire trade established by the European East India Companies" (Curtis 1988:59).

French colonials living in Canada also came to possess Chinese porcelains decorated in the *famille rose* palette, as several sherds of *famille rose* decorated wares were recovered from the 1760 wreck of the *Machault*, and *famille rose* decorated wares were recovered from the 1761 wreck of the English East Indiaman the *Griffin*, which sank on its homeward voyage to London (Daggett et al 1990:40).

Imari (1700-1760): Like the *famille verte* and *famille rose* palettes the *Chinese Imari* style wares (figures 28,29) were created during the late seventeenth to early eighteenth-century renaissance of Chinese porcelains during the Kangxi reign (1662-1722). In order to more effectively

please the Western East India Companies, the Chinese potters and enamellers during the Kangxi reign began producing the Chinese Imari style wares in the taste of Japanese porcelains of the period (Godden 1979:309).

The Imari style Chinese wares had a very characteristic, easily identifiable combination of underglaze blue painted decoration combined with overglaze enamelling in iron-red enamel and occasionally a green enamel added, to enhance the vegetation (Godden 1979:172; Krahl and Ayers 1986:1198), and very rarely the application of a black, or yellow enamel (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1198), with "thin, watery-looking" (Godden 1979:172) gilding added also. Some of the Chinese Imari style porcelains had an underglaze brown engobe on the exterior of bowls, coffee cups, saucers and teabowls a technique which was referred to as 'Batavian ware' or 'Capuchin ware' (Jorg 1982:158) or the 'cafe au lait' decoration (Jorg 1982:125).

The Imari wares, were Chinese wares produced, using Japanese styles of decoration, sometimes in combination with Chinese motifs, trellis and diaper patterns, which were seen on Japanese porcelain that were produced in the kilns of Arita, in the province of Hizen (Godden 1979:309), in Southwestern Japan.

The vast majority of the Chinese Imari style wares date to the first half of the eighteenth-century, and the style, "...came gradually to life in the first decade of the 18th century and the years of its greatest efflorescence were



Figure 28. Sherd of a Chinese *imari* decorated plate rim excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1700-1760. (COLO-J-63,905 FS1189/1).

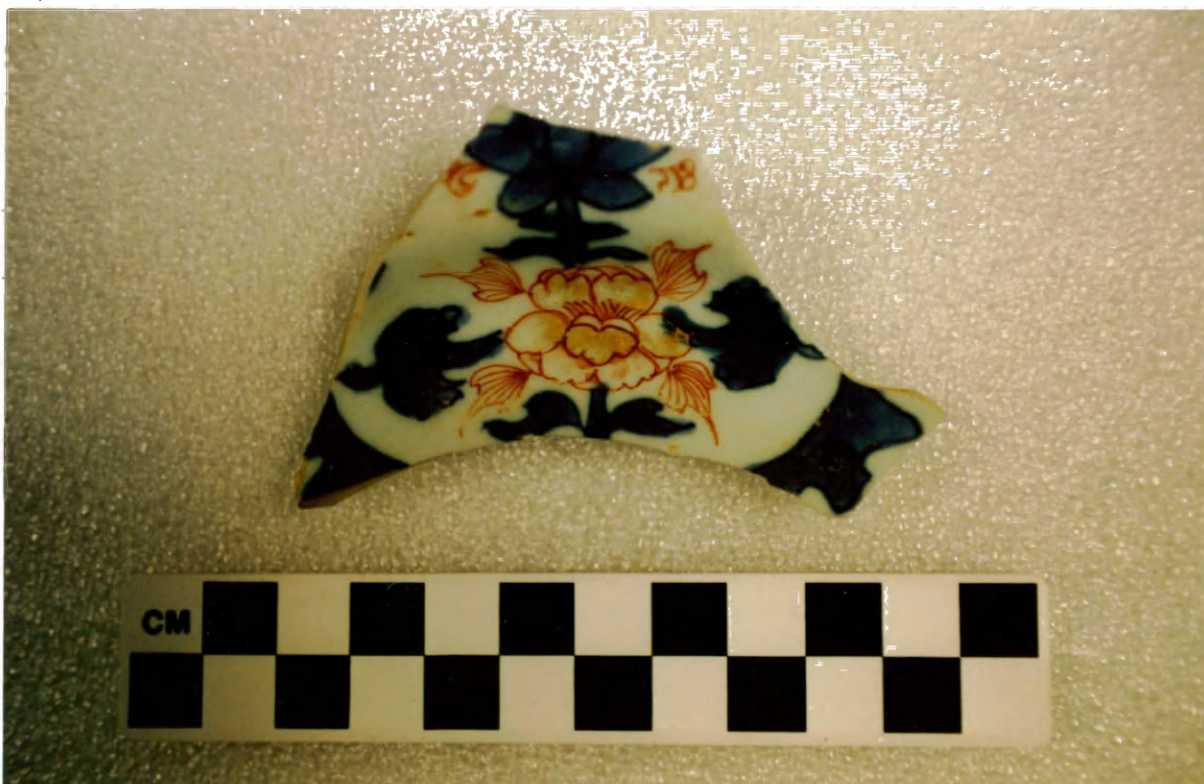


Figure 29. Sherd of a Chinese *imari* decorated plate excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1700-1760. (COLO-J-63,818 FS3511).

probably c.1715–35, when it provided a cheaper alternative both to the full *famille verte* enamelled style, and to the *famille rose*, which succeeded this...Apart from occasional renewals of a more or less accidental kind the Imari style was largely extinct by c.1745" (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1197). The early eighteenth-century date range given to the Imari style is largely backed up by Geoffrey Godden who comments that, "In general, these simple Imari-style designs on Chinese porcelain belong to the 1695–1730 period" (Godden 1979:172), and from Chinese ceramic scholars Mr. David S. Howard and Mr. John Ayers who date the Chinese Imari style to "c.1705–1730" (Howard and Ayers 1978:22). Gilding, a key element of the Imari style porcelains, is infrequently mentioned in the Honorable East India Company records prior to 1703, but is mentioned regularly from 1703 onwards, further justifying 1700 as a *terminus post quem* for Imari style wares (Kilburn, personal communication 1995). Indeed, a list including Chinese wares produced imitating the style of the Japanese porcelains, made for presentation to the imperial court under the reign of Yongzheng in 1729 exists, indicating that the Imari style wares were produced for Chinese domestic use in the Imperial palace (Hobson 1915: chapter X).

Mr. David S. Howard's research on armorial porcelains, which are quite easily dated to within five years, further confirms the early eighteenth-century date range for the Chinese Imari style. Howard notes that the first known

Chinese Imari armorial service, was a service made about 1705 and commissioned for Thomas Pitt, the Governor of Ft. St. George from 1698-1711 (Howard and Ayers 1978:142). Six other Imari style armorial services are known from this period, and others documented to have been made circa 1712, 1715, 1718, up until 1730 (Howard 1974:38, 115). One armorial service with the coat of arms of Brydges, Duke of Chandos, impaling Willoughby, painted in the Chinese Imari style is tightly dated to between 1715 and 1723, due to the floral design painted on the back of the rim in underglaze red, which was a "feature not found after 1723" (Gordon 1952:151). It seems that by 1730, the popularity of the Imari style on armorial porcelains was largely eclipsed by the introduction and perfection of the *famille rose* palette, which occurred around 1730.

The zenith or peak in the seriation curve for the Chinese Imari style was c.1725-1735 (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1198) and after 1735, it has been noted that there was a decline in both the quality and appeal of the Chinese Imari style. While the height of popularity of the Chinese Imari style was during the first half of the eighteenth-century, and thus the vast majority of the Chinese Imari style porcelains date to the pre-1750 period, there are known references to post-1750 Chinese Imari pieces from the records of the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.), as well as from datable shipwrecks. The requirements issued the Dutch East India Company supercargos for 1760 included orders for

12,400 Chinese Imari, "...coffee cups and saucers and 48 tea services which were 'Japanese imitation'" (Jorg 1982:157). Further, Jorg comments that, "Porcelain with this kind of painting seems not to have been shipped any more after that (date)" (Jorg 1982:157).

There were hundreds of Chinese Imari style 'Scholar on bridge' bowls in two sizes recovered from the wreck of the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.) vessel the *Geldermalsen* (Christie's 1986:128-129, 131-132), which sank on the return voyage from Canton in 1752. There were also Chinese Imari style bowls excavated from the wreck of the French ship, the *Machault* which sank in the St. Lawrence river in 1760, on its way to resupply the colonial French settlements in North America (Sullivan 1986:70). There were vessels decorated in the Chinese Imari style on the porcelain from the wreck of the English East Indiaman, the *Griffin*, which sank in the Sulu Sea off the southern coast of Mindanao in 1761 (Daggett et al 1990:40).

Since the *Machault* was not a French East India Company vessel, had taken some English prizes, and not on a direct return voyage from Canton, it is quite possible that a number of the porcelains, including the Chinese Imari style wares, date earlier than 1758-1760. Therefore the date range for Imari has been extended to 1760, based on the Imari wares observed from these post-1750 shipwrecks.

The Chinese Imari style wares usually cost the East India Companies, twice as much per vessel as the standard

underglaze blue and white wares (Jorg 1982:157), an underglaze painted blue and white tea cup cost 7 cents, an enamelled one 12 cents and an Imari one 14 cents in 1731 (Jorg 1982:186). The increased cost was due to the necessity to fire overglaze enamelled and Imari wares twice and three times if gilding was added. The wide appeal and popularity of the Chinese Imari style wares during the early eighteenth-century is very evident. The early eighteenth-century popularity of the Chinese Imari style wares was quite evident by 1712 as the 'Orders and Instructions' given by the Honorable East India Company to the supercargos of the ship the *Loyal Bliss* (appendix B), requested very specifically, "Cups...in Collours sorts to be painted after the Japan pattern as these or such like Twenty Thousand...Saucers...Ditto Twenty Thousand" (India Office Library and Records E/3/97, 670) as well as Chinese wares decorated with, "...a pretty deal of scarlet" which were most certainly Imari style Chinese porcelains (Kilburn, personal communication 1995). Further, the Honorable East India Company's instructions to the supercargos of the ship the *Loyal Bliss*, were reinforced with the instruction that they were to, "Bring home the Patterns of the Chinaware above mentioned that Wee may see how you have comply'd with them" (India Office Library and Records E/3/97, 670). Apparently, the requirements issued by the *Heeren XVII*, the governing body of the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.), to the supercargos in a 1734 letter, were just as specific with

regard to the style of Chinese Imari style wares desired.

The *Heeren XVII* wrote,

"...the work shall be not only in blue as is said, but also coloured in the second manner, that is enamelled and smooth under a plain glaze, as the coloured Japanese porcelain shows, because the enamelled work certainly looks handsome..." (Jorg 1982:157).

The Imari enamels have been characterized as a, "...deep often purplish-grey blue and a rich tomato-red enamel" (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1197), and as "...formal floral all-over designs in underglaze blue (of the typical salty hue) (Godden 1979:309), with overglaze red, green and some gilding" (Godden 1979:218).

Popular decorative motifs exhibited on the Chinese Imari style wares included floral and foliate scenes, leafy motifs, including "garden scenes with plants growing by a small fence" (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1198) accented with diaper, or trellis pattern borders. Also common on Chinese Imari style wares were flower scrolls, with large flower blooms, bamboo, floral chains and sprays. There is also the influence of rococo eighteenth-century textile designs and patterns exhibited on the Chinese Imari wares (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1198).

The wide popularity of the Chinese Imari style wares, greatly influenced the English porcelain manufacturers who, in order to compete with the Chinese porcelains, began copying the Imari colors, and decorative motifs and producing them on English soft paste porcelains after the

middle of the eighteenth-century (Godden 1979:309). A wide range of both table and teawares were produced in the Chinese Imari style, including but not limited to teabowls, saucers, coffee and chocolate cups, slop bowls, bowls, plates, dishes, punch bowls, etc.

The identification of archaeological examples of the Chinese Imari style wares is very easy, and evident due to the very busy and overall coverage of the Imari style patterns executed in underglaze blue, with the iron-red overglaze enamelling and gilding. The porcelain vessels are usually so covered with the Imari style painting and colors, ensuring that all but the smallest Imari style Chinese porcelain sherd can be indentified by the knowledgeable archaeologist. The Chinese Imari style porcelains appear to have been quite fashionable, and popular among eighteenth-century Virginians in Williamsburg as evidenced by their regular occurrence in mid eighteenth-century archaeological contexts. Sherds from an Imari style punch bowl were recovered from Williamsburg, in a style not unlike the bowls from the *Geldermalsen*, and two small mugs with Imari style, "...peonies, a fence and bamboo" (Curtis 1988:60) motifs were also recovered in Williamsburg. Several Imari style sherds were recovered from the circa 1702-1720 cellar fill from the Governor Francis Nicholson site (4CA-1785L), and Imari style sherds were excavated from circa 1740-1750 cellar fill of the Thomas Jones site (4CA-1779T), and from the circa 1750-1759 well "B" at Wetherburn's Tavern (9NA-

1139A), and from the circa 1752-1770 Thomas Everard, ravine layer, (29F-904, 910, 1398), from the circa 1753-1762 trash pit at Wetherburn's Tavern (9NA-1165G), numerous sherds were excavated from the circa 1755-1762 Peyton Randolph structure "A" site, and from the circa 1759-1762 well "C" at Wetherburn's Tavern (9NA-1135H), and from the circa 1775-1780 well fill at the John Draper site (9NA-969).

An Hua (1710-1760): The late Kangxi period of the early eighteenth-century saw the innovative Chinese resurrect an appealing Ming dynasty period decorative technique and market this to the European East India Companies. This attractive style of decoration is known as *an hua*, or 'secret decoration/design' (Hobson 1915:309; Scheurleer 1974:31), or the 'hidden style' (Garner 1954:11) (figure 30). There are known examples of early Ming dynasty porcelains which were embellished with the *an hua* decoration, some of the earliest documented to the reign of Yung Lo (1403-1424) (Hobson 1915:5-6), and others from the reign of Chia Ching (1522-1566) (Hobson 1915:52), and Lung Ch'ing (1567-1572) (Hobson 1915:56).

The *an hua* decoration is made up of a series of very shallow, but precise incisions into the fabric of the porcelain vessel, while in the leather hard state. Often the floral patterns incised into the leather hard porcelain vessel covered virtually all of the surface except for areas around the rim, and sometimes appeared on vessels decorated

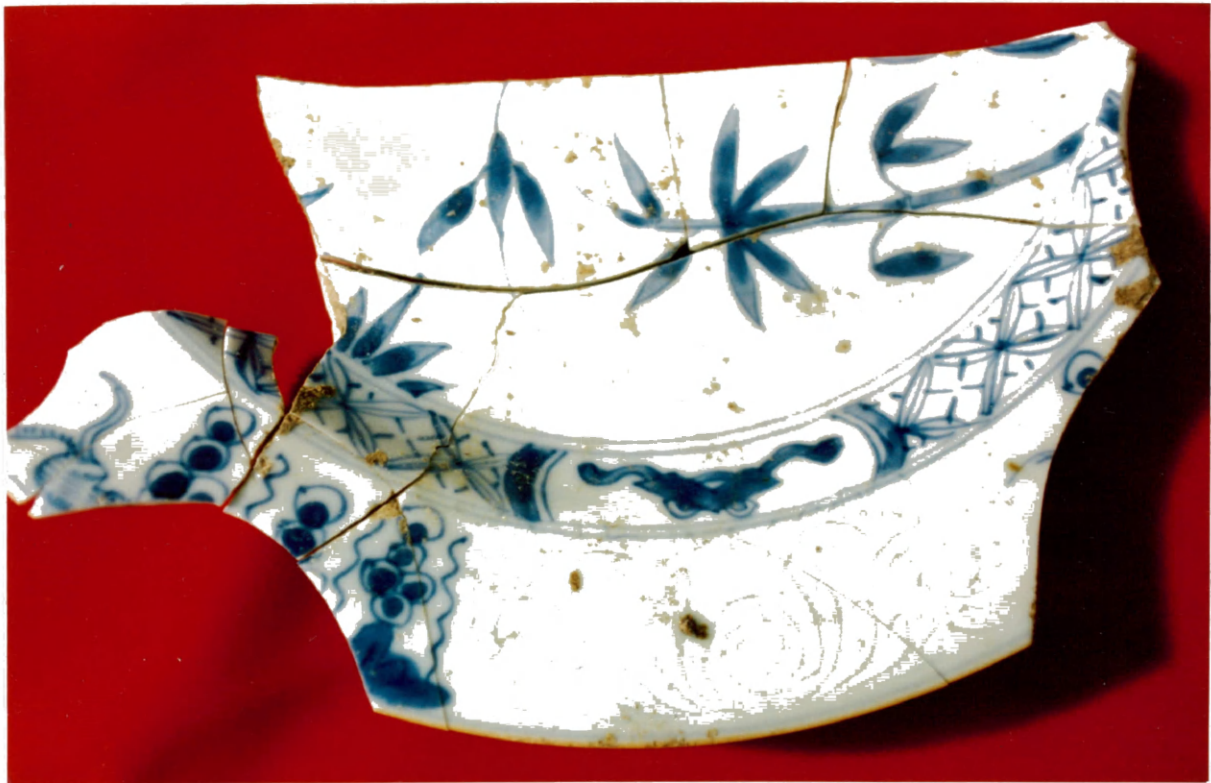


Figure 30. Sherds from an *an hua*/grape-and-bamboo decorated plate excavated from Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia, c. 1730-1760. (44Fx762/17/309CC-1; 309NN-1; 329GG-2; 929C-2; 929E-4; 929J-1; 929R-4; 929T-8; 929YY-1; 929BB-4).

with bands around the body, which were decorated with underglaze blue secondary motifs such as the *blue trellis*. The vessel was then glazed and fired, the glaze virtually filling the shallow cuts in the fabric, thus creating the 'secret design' effect. Often, the floral *an hua* designs are only visible when the porcelain vessel is held in direct light, or at an angle to the light (Scheurleer 1974:31). The eighteenth-century version of the *an hua* design was created by incising the leather hard porcelain vessel, while the initial fourteenth-century Ming created *an hua* styles were achieved through the careful application of slip, or a liquid clay, instead of incising the porcelain body.

Of great value to the historical archaeologist, who is forced to assess the ware type, decoration and date of very small ceramic sherds is that identification of the *an hua* style is very easy on all, but the smallest sherd due to the incised designs being carved on much of the surface of the vessel, except for the underside of plates, and around the footring. The *an hua* decoration was commonly accompanied by the underglaze blue painted *blue trellis* motif, which served as a secondary motif accenting the overall *an hua* decoration. Intricate and fanciful floral motifs dominated the repertoire of styles of the *an hua* decoration.

The revival of the Chinese use of the *an hua* style on Chinese wares, dates to the early to mid eighteenth-century and specifically to the period between about 1710 and 1760. There were vessels manufactured in the early eighteenth-

century specifically to look like Ming period examples, even with the Hsuan Te mark of the Ming era (Hobson 1915:17). Krahl and Ayers in their massive catalogue of the thousands of vessels of Chinese wares in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul, identify the date range for the *an hua* decoration as being from "...between 1710 and 1740" (Krahl and Ayers 1986:952). In their catalogue of the Topkapi Saray Museum, Krahl and Ayers note 36 bowls and 76 matching dishes (Topkapi catalogue #2405) in three sizes: the bowls in about 15, 19 and 27cm and the dishes in about 22, 28 and 36cm (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1072). A Chinese vessel with a date of 1741, decorated in the *an hua* style with 'Amsterdams Bont' enamels is in the Groninger Museum in Holland (Kilburn, personal communication, 1993). Recently documented sherds from the 1745 wreck of the Swedish East India Company vessel, the *Goteborg* which sank on its return voyage from Canton, and sherds from bowls decorated in the *an hua* style from the 1752 *Geldermalsen* wreck, and an *an hua* decorated punch bowl from the 1761 *Griffin* wreck, has necessitated pushing forward the approximate ending date of the *an hua* motif to 1760. The wreck of the *Goteborg* yielded 15cm bowls, 22cm saucer dishes and 24cm bowls, all decorated with the *an hua* style of decoration. Porcelain scholars have remarked that, "Matching sets of bowls and dishes appear frequently in English and Dutch Company records at this time" (Kilburn, personal communication, 1993).

Aside from being accented with underglaze blue motifs, *an hua* vessels were also decorated with *famille verte*, as well as *famille rose* enamels. Since the *famille verte* palette was manufactured from about 1680 to 1730, such *an hua/famille verte* decorated wares were probably manufactured between 1710–1730, since the *an hua* style only began about 1710 (Krahl and Ayers 1986:952). An armorial service decorated with the *an hua* decoration and *famille rose* enamels has been documented and dated to "c.1735" (Howard and Ayers 1978:381), confirming the mid eighteenth-century date of this style of Chinese export wares.

The *an hua* style of porcelain decoration is most commonly found on bowls, plates and cups. An unusually large collection of eighteenth-century Chinese wares decorated with the *an hua* style is documented in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul (Krahl and Ayers 1986), (catalogue numbers 2397–2423). The majority of these examples have the very common *blue trellis* pattern, accenting the overall *an hua* decoration. Although Krahl and Ayers identify the *an hua* style of porcelain decoration as manufactured mainly for the Middle Eastern market, the known examples from the 1745 shipwreck of the Swedish East Indiaman, *Goteborg*, the 1752 wreck of the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.) ship the *Geldermalsen*, and the 1761 wreck of the English East India Company vessel the *Griffin*, as well as the archaeological examples from eighteenth-century contexts in South Carolina (South 1993:97,109) and Tidewater Virginia, give strong

evidence that for the early to middle of the eighteenth-century, the *an hua* style of decoration was purchased by the European East India Companies and sold not only in Europe, but in colonial British North America as well. Dr. Julia Curtis has documented several examples from eighteenth-century archaeological contexts in Williamsburg. Both a tea bowl and a plate decorated with the *an hua* decoration, as well as underglaze blue and *famille verte* colors have come from Williamsburg, and an *an hua/famille verte* cachepot sherd has been excavated in Jamestown (Curtis 1988:57). Sherds decorated in underglaze blue floral patterns and the *an hua* decoration have been excavated from the circa 1752-1770 early ravine layer of the Thomas Everard site (29F-947). Several plate rim sherds all from a matching dinner service decorated with the *an hua* decoration were recovered from the circa 1735-1775 South Grove trash midden at George Washington's Mount Vernon in Fairfax County, Virginia.

Blue trellis (1690-1790): The *blue trellis* motif has its antecedents in the early Ming dynasty porcelain wares, and it has been incorporated into the Chinese painters wide repertoire of repetitive secondary motifs in each successive century beginning in the fourteenth century (Kilburn, personal communication, 1994,1995). The *blue trellis* pattern (figures 31-34,55) is a purely Chinese pattern re-adopted by the Chinese painters toward the end of the middle of the Kangxi period and used commonly throughout



Figure 31. Sherds of plates decorated with the *blue trellis* motif excavated from Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia, c. 1690-1790. (top left: 44Fx762/17/329DDD, top right 329TT, left center 328XX, bottom left 328XX, bottom right 309NN).



Figure 32. Sherds of plates decorated with the *blue trellis* motif excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1690-1790. (COLO-J-63,488 NO DATA).

most of the eighteenth-century.

The *blue trellis* motif is but one of a great variety of repetitive, secondary motifs commonly executed in underglaze blue by the painters in Jingdezhen during the eighteenth-century. These motifs could be found around the rims of cups, saucers, plates, mugs, tankards, chamber pots, etc. The *blue trellis* motif consists of a repetition of a simple, unrefined, quickly painted "X" diaper pattern. When painted well, as on the bowl from Wetherburn's Tavern well "C", the *blue trellis* appears as a series of well formed, "X" motifs, to which is added the elements of a second "X" drawn by repeating the elements of an "X" while leaving a small space between, the first "X" and the elements of the second "X". This design is repeated all around the rim, or cavetto of the vessel leaving a space between the double "X"s which is filled in by adding four short diagonal lines which usually do not meet. The *blue trellis* motif has been described as a, "Diamond diaper. This form of decoration is frequently used as a border to large dishes and as a filler. Consisting of repeating geometric patterns..." (Macintosh 1986:160).

The first datable, and documented late seventeenth-century appearance of the blue trellis pattern on Chinese ware is a well documented underglaze blue and white plate commemorating the Rotterdam, Holland riots of September-October of 1690 (figure 33). The scene in the well of the plate depicting the riots, is a direct copy of a medal by Jan Smeltzing (1656-1693), modeled after an engraving by

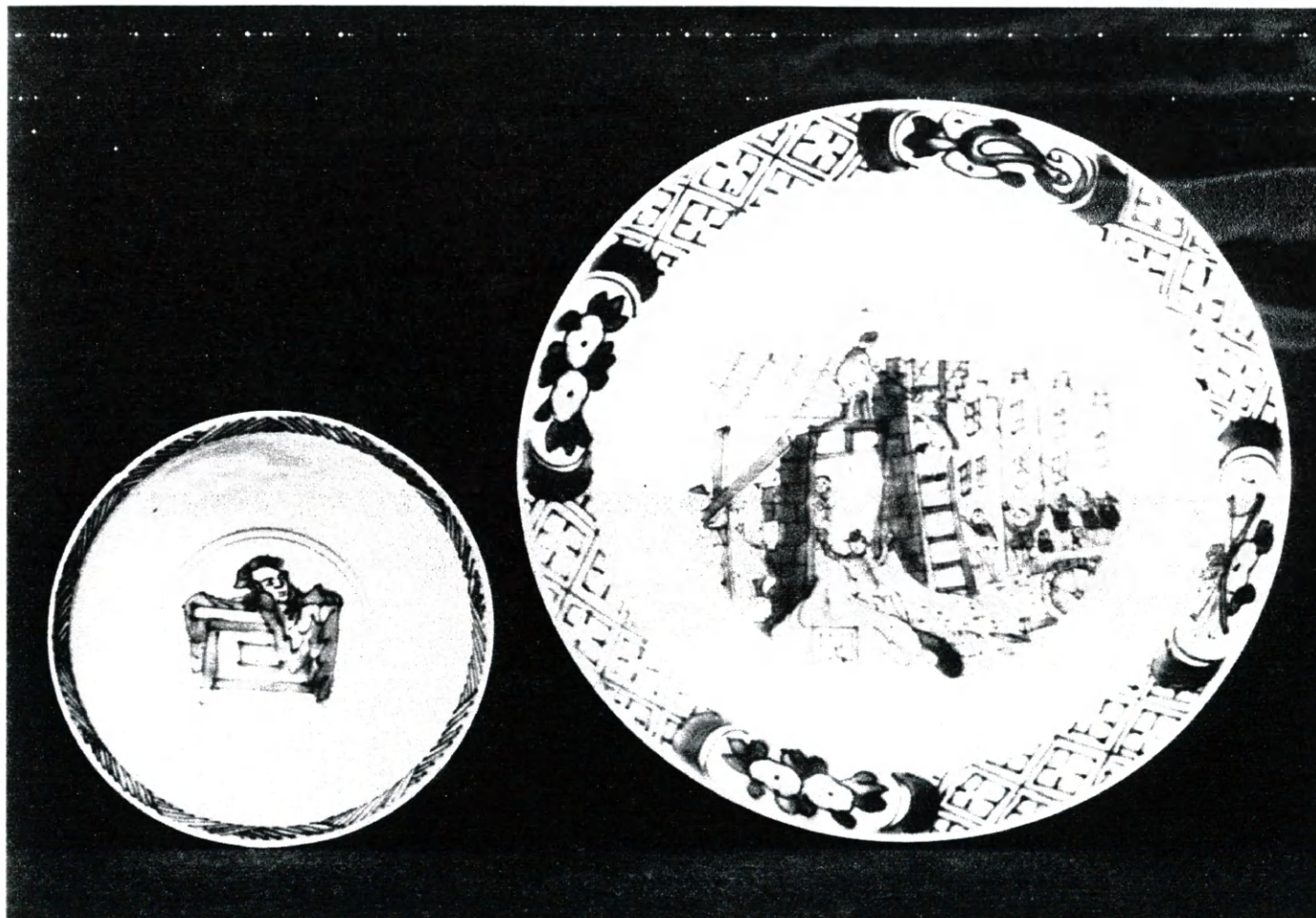


Figure 33. A plate commemorating the Rotterdam, Holland riots of September–October of 1690, c. 1690–1700. (Source: Howard and Ayers, *China for the West*, page 60).

Gerard van Loon (Howard and Ayers 1978:60). The plate was probably commissioned within five years of the Rotterdam riots, hence the late seventeenth-century re-use of the Ming *blue trellis* motif.

Although this example of the circa 1690 *blue trellis* motif is documented, there does not appear to be widespread use of the *blue trellis* until later in the Kangxi period - about 1715. Howard's dating of the *blue trellis* diaper pattern to 1715-1790, is further confirmed by the research of Krahl and Ayers who have documented, described and dated the vast collection of Chinese porcelains of the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul, Turkey. The first late seventeenth-early eighteenth-century reappearance of an underglaze blue and white Chinese export porcelain vessel in the Topkapi Saray collection with the *blue trellis* pattern is a bottle (2164) which is ascribed to, "Late 17th-early 18th c." (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1014). The *blue trellis* border is also seen first on two bowls (2391)(TKS 15/4652), dating to "c.1710-1740" (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1066), as well as six other bowls (2399) in the collection (TKS 15/7851, 7858-64, 7871-7878, 10224-10226) dating to "c.1710-1730" (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1070-1071), and six more bowls (2406)(TKS 15/7853-54, 7886, 10227-28) dating to "c.1710-1735" (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1073). Vessels in underglaze blue painted with the *blue trellis* dated throughout the remainder of the eighteenth-century, are commonly found in the collections of the Topkapi Saray Museum documented by

Krahl and Ayers, with the last dated occurrence of the *blue trellis* on a saucer (2653)(TKS 15/8316) which was dated to, "c.1750-1790" (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1122).

Like many Chinese underglaze blue and white motifs there is a great variety and range in quality of the *blue trellis* motif. Although much of the reason for the variation in quality is attributable to the gradual decline in the quality of the Chinese underglaze blue and white wares after the middle of the eighteenth-century, there is considerable variation of quality of the *blue trellis* observed on the porcelain from the 1752 wreck of the *Geldermalsen* (figure 34). In its poorest form, the *blue trellis* may be so quickly painted that the original, careful painting of this motif bears little resemblance to these hastily painted examples. Some examples of the *blue trellis*, particularly around the edges of rims of saucers seem to have been greatly "blurred", or appear to have a double-effect (Sheaf and Sheaf and Kilburn 1988 :106), perhaps not due as much to the skill of the painter, as to the cobalt blue painting flowing a bit during the glazing, and firing processes.

Chinese ceramic scholar Mr. David Howard has assigned the date range of 1715-1790 for this simple secondary motif, and indicates that as is the case with many Chinese porcelain motifs, the initial, or earliest representations of a particular motif are painted with greater precision, care and detail than were later forms of the same motif

(Howard, personal communication 1995). Mr. Howard notes that after about 1770 this *blue trellis* pattern becomes "tighter" and painted in a "smaller scale", not unlike the shaded trellis portion of the Nanking rim patterns of the late eighteenth-century (Howard, personal communication 1995).

The importance of this motif for historical archaeologists is that it, in this revival of a Ming style, and form is datable to a period within the eighteenth-century. It is very easy to recognize this motif, and because it was so widely used by the Chinese painters as rim accents, cavetto embellishments, and elsewhere on underglaze blue and white vessels, it is very commonly found on any eighteenth-century colonial site which contains a sizeable amount of Chinese wares.

The *blue trellis* motif has been noticed on the porcelain from many cargos of East India Company vessels which sank during the eighteenth-century. While the *blue trellis* motif is noticeably absent from the porcelain cargo from the circa 1695 *Vung Tao Cargo*, several eighteenth-century shipwrecks including the *Sussex*, 1738; *Goteborg*, 1745; the *Maidstone*, 1747; the *Geldermalsen*, 1752; the *Machault*, 1760 the *Griffin*, 1761 and the *Middleburg*, 1781 all had underglaze blue and white vessels with this repetitive motif occurring. Several excellent pictures of this common motif can be found in the 1986 Christie's auction catalogue of the sale of the cargo from the Dutch



Figure 34. A set of dinner plates from the 1752 wreck of the Dutch East Indiaman, *Geldermalsen*, decorated with both the *blue trellis* and *blue spearhead* motifs, c. 1750. (Source: Sheaf and Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes*, page 120).

East India Company (V.O.C.) vessel, *Geldermalsen*, as well as in the excellent work documenting the history of the *Geldermalsen*, written by Colin Sheaf (Sheaf and Kilburn 1988 :106,113-114,120), and the recently published landmark study of the Chinese porcelain wares of the private trade by Mr. David S. Howard (Howard 1994:126,151,181,206,224).

The *blue trellis* motif, commonly found on nearly every eighteenth-century archaeological site containing underglaze blue and white Chinese wares, has been unearthed in great quantities in colonial Williamsburg. In Williamsburg, the *blue trellis* has been found in several eighteenth-century archaeological contexts including the George Gilmer trash pits, 1740-1757, (29G-1265, 1268N, 1269); the Thomas Jones cellar fill, 1750-1750, (4CA-1745G); Wetherburn's Tavern, well "B", 1750-1759, (9NA-1139A); Thomas Everard, early ravine layer, 1752-1770, (29F-897,898,901,951), later ravine layer, 1770-1781, (29F-955,963,969,993,1830); Wetherburn's Tavern, trash pit, 1753-1762, (9NA-1165G); Peyton Randolph, structure "A", 1755-1762; Wetherburn's Tavern, well "C", 1759-1762, (9NA-1134G,J,P,1135E,H); John Draper, well fill, 1775-1780, (9LB-1172,1327); Dr. Barraud House, postmold east of smokehouse, 1782-1793, (10F-106). At George Washington's Mount Vernon sherds of Chinese export ware decorated with the blue trellis motif were recovered from the trash midden in the South Grove (44 Fx 762/17/328XX, 329DDD, 329TT) which was filled in sometime between 1735 and 1775.

Blue Spearhead (1735–1770): Like the *blue trellis* motif, the *blue spearhead* motif is another purely Chinese pattern used on Chinese porcelains as early as the beginning of the Ming dynasty (Kilburn, personal communication, 1994, 1995) (figures 34, 35, 42). It disappeared and then reappeared in each successive century which followed. Its appearance in the eighteenth-century, is largely confined to the period between 1730–1770, and reached its height of use and popularity in the 1730's through the 1740's (Howard, personal communication, 1995). Although not as common as the *blue trellis* motif, the *blue spearhead* motif was another widely popular secondary, accent motif used by the Chinese painters to accent the marley, or cavetto area of plates.

The underglaze *blue spearhead* is formed by the Chinese underglaze painter, creating two scrolls which are painted back-to-back, then the painter connects the top of the scrolls with a semicircular arch, atop which is painted three short spiky lines, thus forming the *blue spearhead*. The spearhead is repeated 30–35 times around the marley, or cavetto area of the plate to act as a border, or frame for the central details, Chinese landscape, or other scene of the plate. Mr. Howard has dated the appearance, and use of this particular variety of underglaze blue spearhead motif during the eighteenth-century, as occurring between approximately 1735–1770, reaching a height in popularity and use from 1740–1750 (Howard, personal communication 1995), the peak in style occurring just as the underglaze blue and



Figure 35. Sherds from plates decorated with the *blue spearhead* motif excavated from Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia, c. 1735-1770. (top left: 44Fx762/17/329N; top right 329TT; bottom left 309J; bottom right 329J).

white export wares for the Dutch market, and shipped on the *Gelermalsen* were being made at Jingdezhen.

The date range 1735-1770, as given by Mr. Howard, like the date range for the *blue trellis* is confirmed by examination of the vast collection of underglaze blue and white Chinese wares in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul, Turkey. Krahl and Ayers, the two Chinese ceramicists who documented, described and dated the vast underglaze blue and white collection, have noted several mid eighteenth-century vessels which have as a secondary motif the *blue spearhead*. Several dishes (2596-2599)(TKS 15/8197,8020, 8021-24, 10147-48) dated to "c.1750-1770" (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1113,1114) are illustrated, 1750 being the earliest date given by Krahl and Ayers for an underglaze blue and white vessel with the *blue spearhead* secondary motif. Although the *blue spearhead* motif is a Chinese created motif with antecedents dating to the Ming dynasty, it has been observed that variants of the *blue spearhead* motif are seen on Meissen porcelain rims dating to the 1740's, reinforcing the 1735-1770 date of the revival of the *blue spearhead* motif (Mudge 1986:155).

As with the *blue trellis* there was a great variety of quality of the *blue spearhead* motif during the time it was used as a secondary motif on underglaze blue and white Chinese wares. The quality and execution of the motif could vary within one shipment of porcelain aboard one East India Company vessel, as on the *Geldermalsen* there were both well

painted examples of the *blue spearhead*, and less clear, more hurriedly painted varieties as well.

During the eighteenth-century, there are a great variety of spearhead motifs used by the underglaze blue Chinese painters in Jingdezhen, as well as the overglaze enamelers in Canton. The late eighteenth-century underglaze *blue spearhead* associated with the *Nanking/Fitzhugh*, shaded "X" diaper with either dumbbells and spearheads, or scroll spearheads (1765-1820), forms a portion of the third Nanking/Fitzhugh rim pattern discussed in this thesis and differs in both appearance and form from the *blue spearhead* discussed here and dated to about 1735-1770.

Indeed date ranges, including descriptions, and photographs for many eighteenth-century variations of both underglaze blue, but primarily overglaze enamelled spearhead forms could be detailed, but that is beyond the scope of the current study. Ceramic scholar, John Goldsmith Phillips, points out that the spearhead border was used by the enamelers in Canton who were decorating wares for the export market, and that in overglaze enamels, the spearhead painted in gold and outlined in red, dates to the 1740's through the 1760's (Phillips 1956:58). Phillips comments that after about 1770, "...except in debased form, it soon disappeared from the ornament vocabulary of the Cantonese porcelain painters" (Phillips 1956:58). Indeed, Mr. David Howard, in his monumental study of Chinese armorial porcelain made for the West has dated, described and documented many overglaze,

armorials from 1735-1775 which have gilded spearheads painted at the rim of cups, or cavetto of plates (Howard 1974:140-141).

Secondary motifs such as the *blue trellis* and *blue spearhead*, while extremely important chronological indicators for historical archaeologists are not frequently discussed in the vast corpus of Chinese porcelain ceramic literature. This is understandable, in part, because they are secondary motifs which form the framing, accents or background for the main and central scene, or decorative motif. Discussions of the particular forms, shapes, and meaning of secondary motifs is often relegated to a listing in an appendix, if mentioned at all.

The *blue spearhead* motif discussed here, although less popular and less frequently used as a secondary motif than the *blue trellis* discussed above, is nonetheless an extremely important chronological indicator. Aside from the fact that the *blue spearhead* motif is commonly found on many historic archaeological contexts which date to the mid eighteenth-century, it is extremely easily recognizable, and due to its reoccurrence up to thirty-five times on a single plate is quite evident on all but the smallest sherd from the cavetto section of an underglaze blue and white plate. A very late archaeological example of the *blue spearhead* is seen on the cavetto from one sherd from the Dr. Barraud trash pit, 1782-1793, (10F-101), a Nanking/Fitzhugh *shaded "X" diaper with either dumbbells and spearheads, or scroll*

spearheads (1765-1820) variety. Since the initial evidence for the production of this particular Nanking/Fitzhugh rim pattern dates to 1765 (Howard 1974:52-53), and the end period of the production of this type of underglaze *blue spearhead* is about 1770, it is quite likely be that the Nanking/Fitzhugh sherd mentioned above from the Dr. Barraud trash pit dates to about 1765-1770. At George Washington's Mount Vernon several plate sherds decorated with the blue spearhead motif were excavated in the vicinity of the South Grove trash midden (44 Fx 762/309J, 329J, 329N, 348P) which was filled in sometime between 1735 and 1775.

'Grape-and-Bamboo' (1730-1760): A very tightly dated and easily identifiable mid eighteenth-century underglaze blue painted motif, the 'grape-and-bamboo' (figures 36-38,41) is well documented, identified and dated from its frequent appearance on dated shipwrecks of the mid eighteenth-century. The principle design consists of a repeated, and alternating rim border of a bunch of grapes (usually numbering seven), with a stylized section of bamboo in two, or three segments, interspersed with leafy branches, and curvy lines representing vines and foliage motifs. The grapes are painted in cobalt blue, the painter executing a circle, and placing in the center of the circle a large blob of cobalt blue to create a grape resembling a 'cartoon' character style eyeball. The bamboo is painted in two segments and within each segment are placed cobalt blue

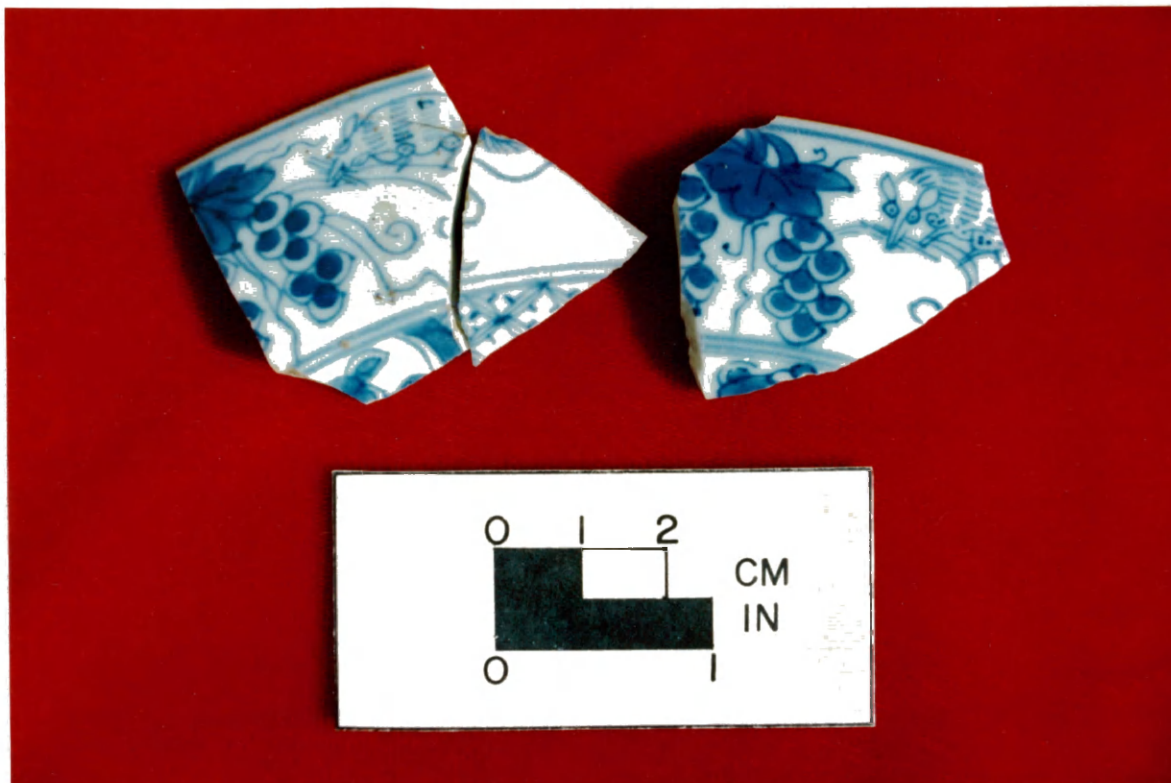


Figure 36. Plate rim sherds decorated with the *grape-and-bamboo* motif excavated from Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia c. 1730-1760. (left 44Fx762/17/929C,E,J; right 348RR).

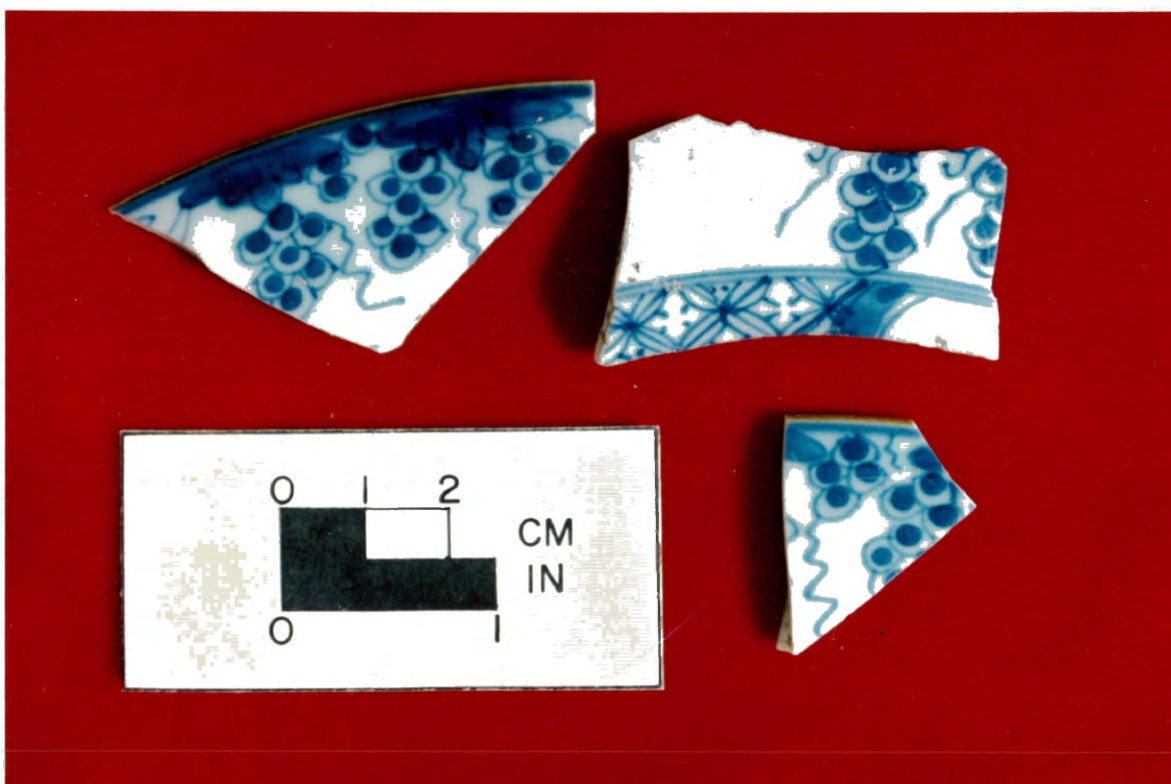


Figure 37. Plate sherds decorated with the *grape-and-bamboo* motif excavated from Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia c. 1730-1760. (top left 44Fx762/17/328YY; top right 328A; bottom right 328A).

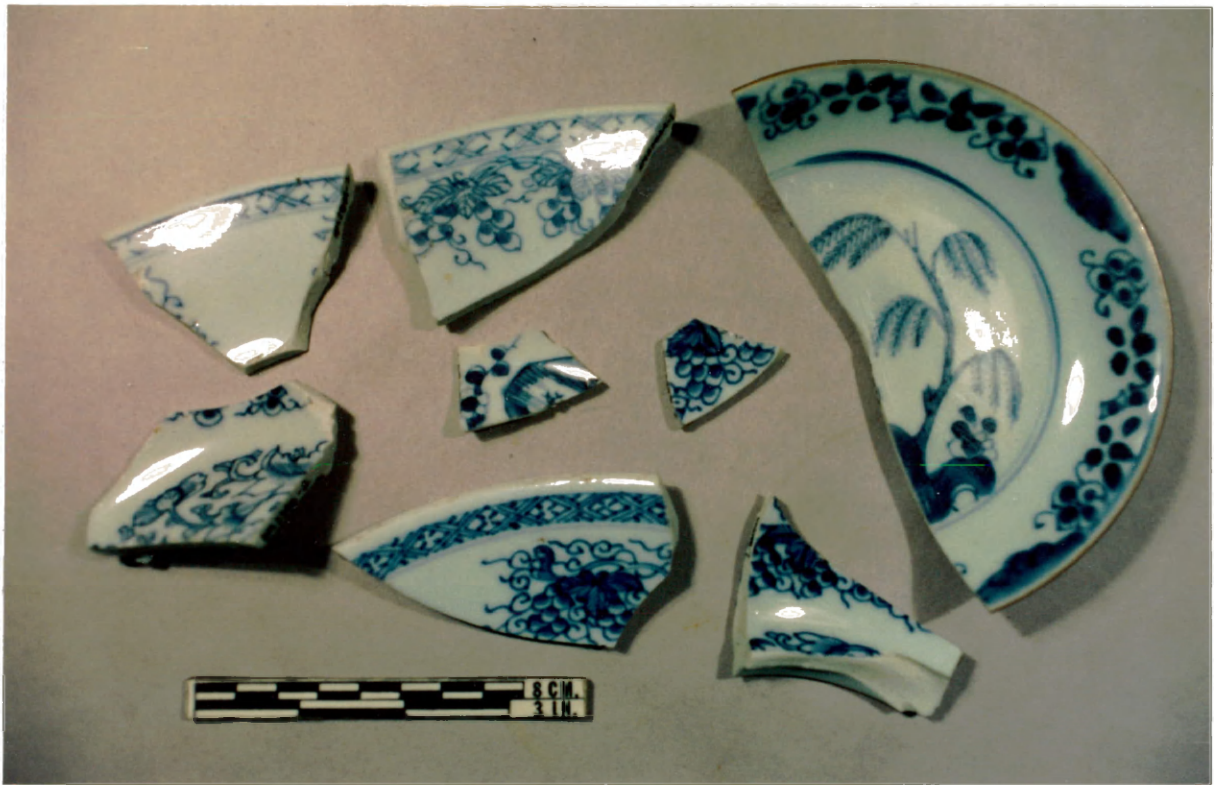


Figure 38. Patty pan and saucer sherds decorated with the *grape-and-bamboo* motif excavated from the Kingsmill sites, James City County, Virginia c. 1730-1760. (top left Burwell's Landing KM284A-2; middle left center Burwell's Landing KM238B-1; top center Burwell's Landing KM278AA-1; middle left Burwell's Landing KM238B-2; right (saucer) North Quarter KM751; bottom center Kingsmill Quarter KM354B-115; bottom right Kingsmill Quarter KM379B-7; middle row center Kingsmill Quarter KM355B-2).

blobs, of the same type, and size as those placed within the outline of the grape. This is the typical formula for the rim pattern, the pattern being repeated several times around the rim.

The 'grape-and-bamboo' pattern as found on the hollowares, principally teabowls, which match the plates with the 'grape-and-bamboo' rim pattern as mentioned above, is slightly different, although it is very obviously the same motif. The bunches of grapes on the hollowares is principally the same as on the rim decoration on the plates, with the addition of curvy lines which are supposed to resemble vines extending from the bunches of grapes. Plates with the typical grape-and-bamboo motif as described above, have been found on the 1738 shipwreck of the English East India Company ship the *Sussex*, the early 1740's shipwreck of the Dutch East India Company vessel the *Hollandia* (Curtis 1988:58), as well as the 1745 shipwreck of the Swedish East India Company vessel the *Goteborg*.

The bamboo element is noticeably absent from the hollowares with the exception of the teabowls from the 1760 wreck of the French ship the *Machault*. The bamboo as seen on the teabowls from the *Machault* appears as two swags, the sections of bamboo, thin, articulated and curved, rather than semi-straight as on the plates (Sullivan 1986:71). Often occurring on the teabowls near the bunches of grapes are quickly drawn depictions of a small animal described as a squirrel. Such teabowls with the grape and squirrel have

been found on the 1745 wreck of the Swedish East India Company vessel, the *Goteborg*, as well as on two saucers (2556)(TKS 15/4390,4391) dated to "c.1720-1740" (Krahl and Ayers 1986:1103), in the collection of the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul, Turkey.

Although the appearance of the *grape-and-bamboo* motif is largely restricted to a few decades during the eighteenth-century, this motif as with the *blue trellis*, has its antecedents in earlier periods. Antecedents of the *grape-and-bamboo* motif date to the 14th century Chinese wares, and there are documented 15th century Chinese wares were decorated with the grapes only(Kilburn, personal communication, 1995). There are also mid 16th century variants of the grapevine motif and a Ming dynasty transitional period dish decorated in the Ming *wucai* style overglaze enamels (Little 1984).

Although there exists a type of decorative motif in underglaze blue and white including bamboo and 'grape-like' prunus motifs dating to "c.1700-1720" (Howard and Ayers 1978:64-65), the earliest known documented date for the occurrence of the standard *grape-and-bamboo* motif on underglaze blue and white eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain as discussed here, is the April, 1738 shipwreck of the English East India Company ship the *Sussex*, which ran aground on the Bassas da India while crossing the Mozambique Channel (Bousquet et al 1990:85). The latest known document date for the *grape-and-bamboo* motif is the 1760

shipwreck of the *Machault* (Sullivan 1986) in the St. Lawrence river. Because the manufacture date of the grape-and-bamboo porcelains is necessarily earlier than both the 1738 and 1760 shipwrecks, the date range 1730-1760 was arrived at. This date range is further reinforced, through analysis of comparable grape-and-vine motifs on Chinese armorial porcelains. The date range of the grape-and-vine motif as on armorial porcelains is between 1735 and 1765, with 24 of these services dated to 1735-1745, which parallels closely the appearance of the grape-and-bamboo motif on the standard underglaze blue export wares. A revival in popularity of the grape-and-vine is seen by a very late reappearance of the motif on 11 armorial services dated to 1790-1800 (Howard 1974:122-123).

The distribution of this underglaze blue and white motif to the English, Swedish and French East India companies, as evidenced by its discovery aboard the English East Indiaman the *Sussex*, the Swedish East Indiaman the *Goteborg*, and the French ship the *Machault* is proof that during the eighteenth-century the Chinese were producing, distributing and selling the same generic mass produced ware motifs to all of the European traders who engaged in business with the Chinese Hong merchants in Canton. The popularity of this particular motif during the 1730-1760 period in colonial Virginia and Williamsburg, is quite evident from its frequent occurrence on eighteenth-century archaeological sites. Several sherds from a patty pan, one

sherd of a tea bowl (KM252B), and one sherd of a saucer (KM275-2), decorated with the grape-and-bamboo motif in underglaze blue and white have been recovered from an archaeological context at the Burwell's Landing site at Kingsmill, in James City County, Virginia (44JC40). The patty pan sherds from KM243B were recovered from a context dating to 1762-1775. Several sherds of Chinese wares decorated with the grape-and-bamboo motifs have also come from eighteenth-century archaeological contexts within both the North Quarter, and Kingsmill Quarter sites in James City County, Virginia. Patty pan rim sherds (COLO-J-63,498) identical to those recovered from the Burwell's Landing excavations at Kingsmill were also recovered from archaeological excavations on Jamestown Island. Two plate rim sherds (COLO-Y-62,300 and 62,370) from the excavations of the Reynold's House in Yorktown also are decorated in the typical grape-and-bamboo motif. Several fragments of other grape-and-bamboo motif decorated plates, saucers and teabowls were recovered from several eighteenth-century contexts in Williamsburg including the Dr. George Gilmer trash pits, circa 1740-1757 (29G-1268L-1252, 1256, 1261), the Thomas Jones cellar fill, circa 1740-1750 (4CA-1745G, 1779T), Wetherburn's Tavern well "B", circa 1750-1759 (9NA-1139B), and the Peyton Randolph structure "A", circa 1755-1762. In Fairfax County at George Washington's Mount Vernon many plate sherds (44 Fx 762/17/328MM, 328YY, 348RR, 929C, 929E, 929J) all from one dinner service, decorated with both

the an hua style and the grape-and-bamboo motif were recovered from the South Grove trash midden which was filled in sometime between 1735 and 1775.

'Fish roe' (1750-1765): The 'fish roe' motif (figures 39,40,43) became a popular style of decorating mid-eighteenth century underglaze blue and white Chinese wares. A 'fish roe' effect was arrived at by the Chinese painter, painting clusters of small circles touching each other, with a blue dot in the center of each of the small circles. Often, the painter would join the small circles in clusters, leaving blank spaces on the vessel which could later be filled with Chinese figures, or other scenes. The effect was an impressive detail of small circles which formed an attractive ordered pattern of 'fish roe' and blank cartouches, which were filled with overglaze enamels of the period. It has also been described as a , "'fish roe' pattern and usually punctuated by moulded white flowers with a honeycomb diaper rim band" (Howard 1991:25).

David Howard has dated the appearance of the 'fish roe' pattern to exactly 1754-55, based on a topical engraving which was published that year, featuring the 'fish roe' pattern (Howard 1991:25). Howard notes that special mugs with portraits of Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires, two eighteenth-century figures in a notorious abduction case, were featured on Chinese wares with the 'fish roe' pattern. The dating of the 'fish roe' motif can be assured, because a

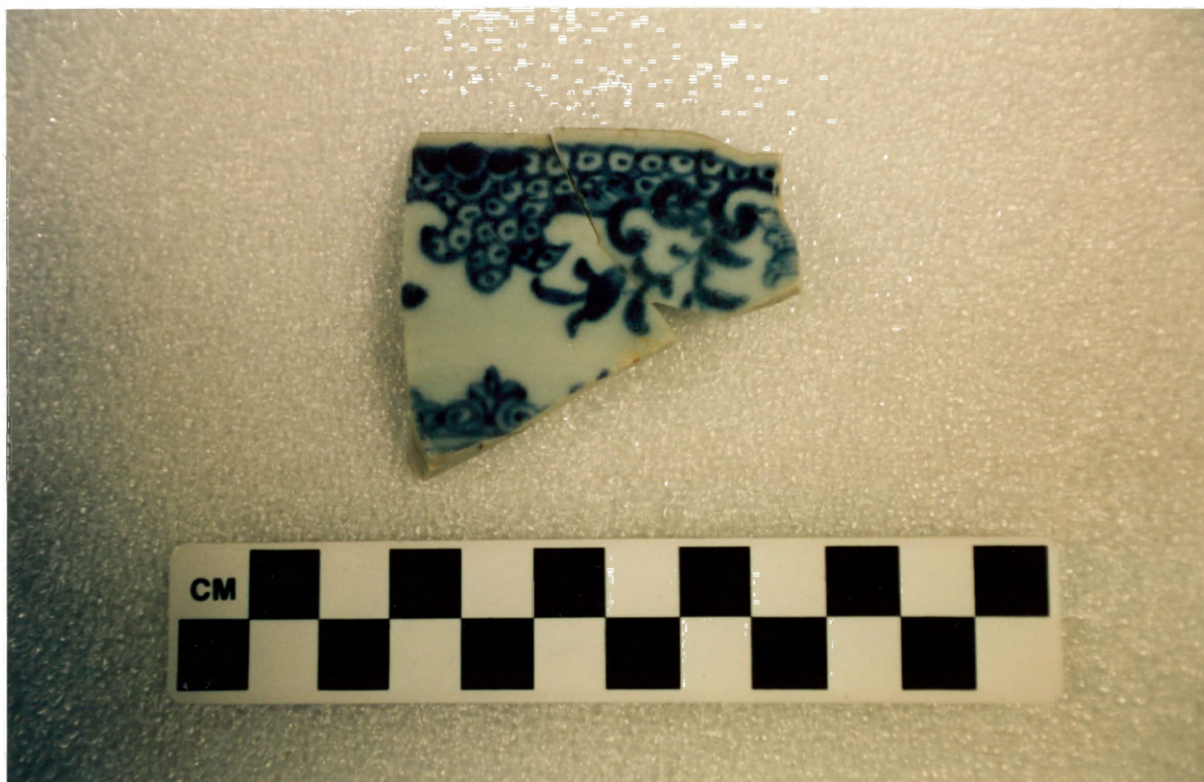


Figure 39. A sherd from a platter rim decorated with both the *fish roe* and *blue spearhead* motifs excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1750-1765. (COLO-J-63,492 NO DATA).



Figure 40. Part of a tea service from the 1761 wreck of the English East Indiaman, *Griffin* decorated with the *fish roe* motif. (Source: Daggett et al, "The Griffin, an English East Indiaman lost in the Philippines in 1761").



Figure 41. *Grape-and-Bamboo* motif, underglaze blue (1730-1760). (Illustration by David Madsen).



Figure 42. *Blue Spearhead* motif, underglaze blue (1735-1770). (Illustration by the author).

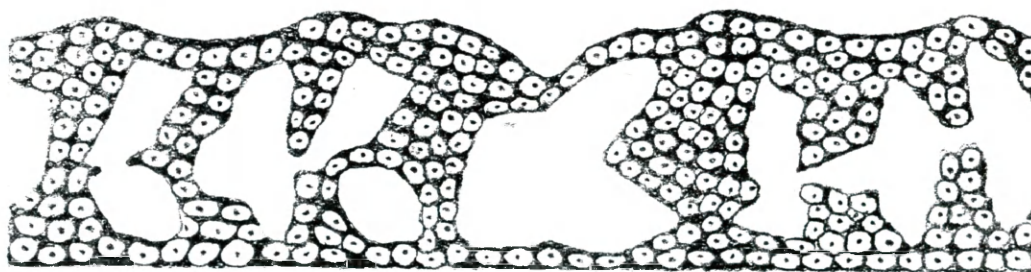


Figure 43. *Fish Roe* motif, underglaze blue (1750-1765). (Illustration by the author).

few years after the case made headlines, nobody would have had much interest in the event (Howard 1991:25). A very fine tightly dated example of the 'fish roe' pattern on Chinese underglaze blue and white, is a teaset from the Honorable East India Company vessel, the *Griffin*, which sank in 1761 (Daggett et al 1990:39-40). A wide range of teawares from the *Griffin* were recovered, including two shapes of teapots, teabowls, saucers, and a lidded sugar pot.

A nearly identical 'fish roe' cup and saucer with the coat of arms of Colonel Clive, c.1770 painted in the white center of the saucer, has been documented by David Howard in *Chinese Armorial Porcelain* (Howard 1974:589). Since the publication of *Chinese Armorial Porcelain* in 1974, Mr. Howard has discovered that the Clive armorial 'fish roe' service was probably produced, "about the time of his (Colonel Clive's) victory at Plassey in 1757" (Howard 1991:25). The popularity of the Chinese 'fish roe' pattern was evident to the British producers of soft-paste porcelain, as by the early 1760's, this same 'fish roe' pattern was being copied by Worcester (Howard 1991:25).

The popularity of the 'fish roe' pattern is indicated by its appearance on historic period archaeological sites in Virginia during the eighteenth-century. In Williamsburg, for example, sherds decorated in underglaze blue and white with the 'fish roe' motif have been found in eighteenth-century archaeological contexts from the Dr. George Gilmer,

trash pits, 1740-1757 (29G-1268Q); and from Peyton Randolph, structure "A", 1755-1762.

Late 18th Century Bands and Lines (1765-1810): During the latter part of the eighteenth-century, predominantly from approximately 1780-1805, there "came into fashion" (Phillips 1956:59) the practice of decorating the Chinese overglaze wares with thin decorative bands, thin wavy and straight lines, husk chains, and thin blue bands with stars painted on the blue band, and half-circles with dots (figures 44-52). This period of overglaze enameled decoration, consisting of thin bands and wavy lines, coincided with the commencement of direct trade between the United States of America and China with the initial voyage of the *Empress of China* which sailed from New York to trade with China on February 22, 1784 (Howard 1985:17). These rim motifs and accents stand in marked contrast to the earlier enamelled wares, which often had much of the surface of the vessel covered, and were consequently sometimes quite busy, and overloaded with design. In contrast, these late eighteenth-century overglaze motifs were very reserved, clean, and simple, serving to accent the porcelain without being overbearing or dripping with decorative enamelled embellishment. Significant for historical archaeologists is the fact that these motifs are repeated several times on each vessel, making identification of each of these late eighteenth-century quite simple and easy. While there are

Late eighteenth-century bands and lines (1765-1810)



Figure 44. *Husk Chain*, overglaze enamels, (1780-1810).
(Illustration by David Madsen).

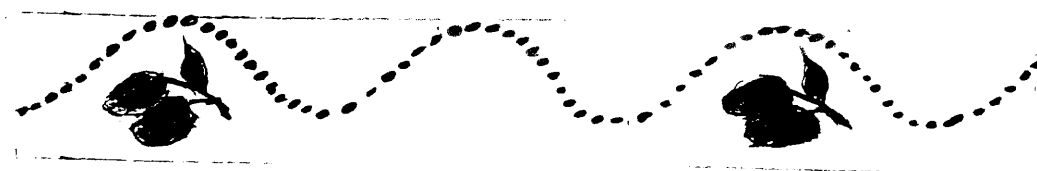


Figure 45. *Wavy Band*, overglaze enamels, (1780-1790).
(Illustration by David Madsen).



Figure 46. *Dogtooth*, overglaze enamels, (1765-1795).
(Illustration by David Madsen).

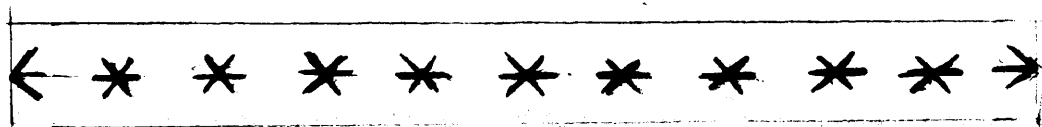


Figure 47. *Blue Band with Stars*, overglaze enamels, (1785-1805).
(Illustration by David Madsen).



Figure 48. *Half-Circle and Dot*, overglaze enamels, (1780-1800).
(Illustration by David Madsen).

many other late eighteenth-century band and line motifs – a full discussion is beyond the scope of this study. Additionally, there are many subtle variations, and combinations of the motifs discussed below. Furthermore, as will be documented during the specific discussion of the motifs covered in this study, as all of these rim motifs overlap chronologically, it is not uncommon to see them used in combination on the same Chinese porcelain vessel. Five of the most commonly archaeologically found styles of these late eighteenth-century bands and lines have been selected as a few examples of the broad category of late eighteenth-century band and line motifs although they in no way represent the total diversity of these motifs.

Wavy Band (1780–1790): The wavy band motif (figures 45,49) appeared on overglaze enamelled Chinese wares for approximately ten years, from 1780–1790. It is easily recognized by its simple, thin, undulating wavy line, which is usually made up of a series of very small overglaze enamel dots, rather than formed by painting a thin continuous line. This motif is most commonly found just under the rim on the exterior surface of tankards, mugs, coffee cups, tea bowls, and towards the outer edge of the rim on flatwares such as plates and saucers, inside the rim on bowls, and near the lip seating on the body of the teapot. This motif is commonly found on the full range of tablewares and teawares commonly used during the period.

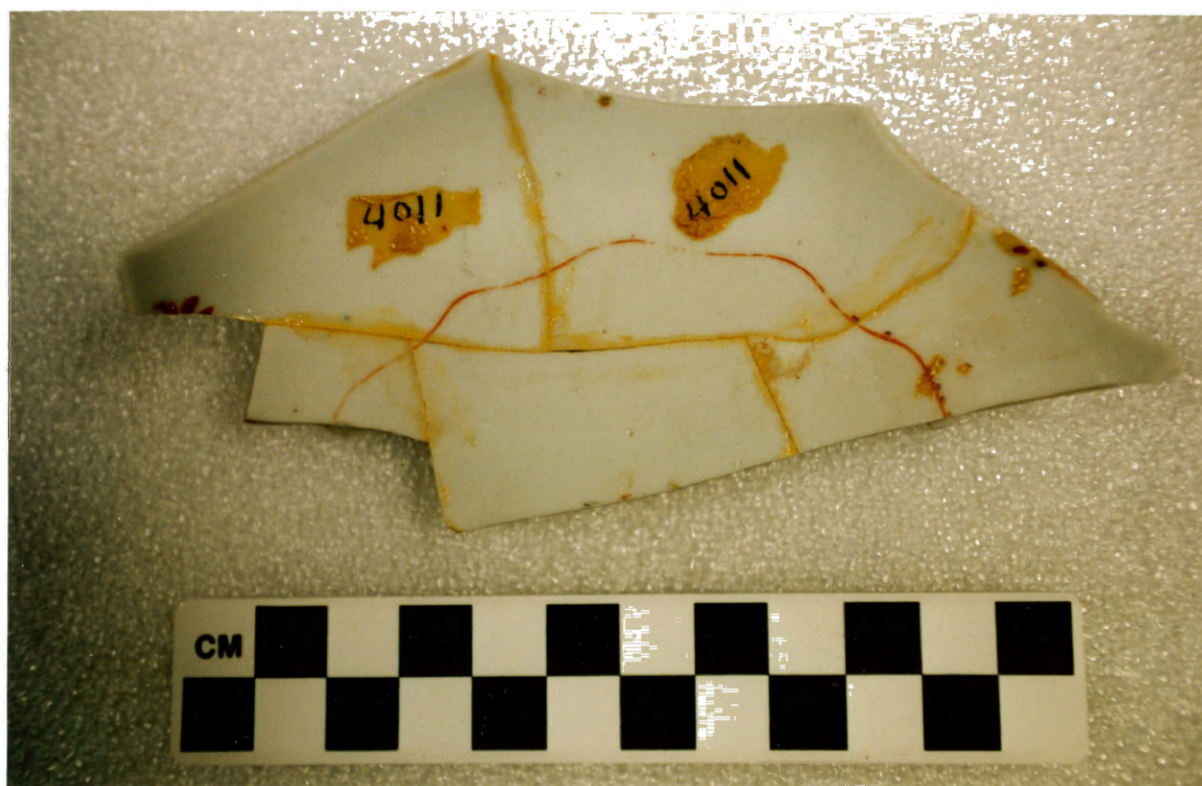


Figure 49. Sherds from a saucer decorated with the *wavy band* motif, excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1780-1790. (COLO-J-63,970 FS4011).

This wavy border has a similar example in English ceramics of the late eighteenth-century, although the English example consists of two interweaving lines, rather than a single wavy line (Phillips 1956:57). Like the other four common late eighteenth-century motifs discussed below, it is not uncommon to encounter the wavy line motifs used in combination with another late eighteenth-century overglaze enamel motif. An example of this is the use of both the wavy band motif (1780-1790) and the thin blue bands with stars (1785-1805) on the armorial service bearing the probable coat of arms of Cutler, and dated to "c.1790" (Howard 1974:765). Armorial services date this overglaze motif to 1780, as several services dating to this period were manufactured, and are documented in *Chinese Armorial Porcelain* (Field, Phipps, Tulloch, Roche, Rankin, Kennedy)(Howard 1974:649-650). Also, archaeological examples of Chinese porcelain saucers from a tea service with the wavy line motif dated to "c.1790" (Howard 1985:65-66), were recovered from excavations of Hanover Square in New York City. A service decorated with the wavy line motif, copied from a 1783 bookplate of James H. Giles of New York, is dated to "c.1785-1788" (Howard 1985:81). An example of the wavy line motif is seen on a section of a sample plate, belonging to the Goteborgs Historika Museum in Goteborg, Sweden (Phillips 1956:36), on a teapot from the Bennington Museum, which is part of a Chinese export service made for John Stark (1728-1822), a revolutionary war veteran

(Schiffer 1980:47), and on a dinner plate from an armorial service produced for the first governor of the Mississippi territory and revolutionary war veteran, Winthrop Sargent (1753-1820) (Schiffer 1980:50). A sherd from a saucer (10F-103, Trash pit, layer 3) with the wavy line motif painted in overglaze iron-red enamel, was recovered from an archaeological context dating to circa 1782-1793 at the Dr. Barraud site in Williamsburg.

Husk Chain (1780-1810): A simple repeating pattern of "arrowhead" shaped designs, which accented both the edge of the rim of both hollow and flatwares and the cavetto, or marley of flatwares known as the "husk chain" (Howard 1974:148) (figures 44,50), or a "narrow line of dart-like elements" (Phillips 1956:58) became popular during the late eighteenth-century. Perhaps one of the simplest overglaze designs of the period, the husk chain was elegant in its simplicity, and fashionable for its non-overbearing style. Initial datable examples of the husk chain are from armorial services manufactured in approximately 1780; services made for MacDowall, Washington, and Bruce are among the earliest examples of overglaze enameled Chinese porcelain with the husk chain motif (Howard 1974:665). The terminal date for the husk chain motif was arrived at, because it appears on vessels from a Chinese export service bearing the arms of Pennsylvania in a form not adopted, and thus not used until March 2, 1809 (Schiffer 1980:43). Several vessels with the

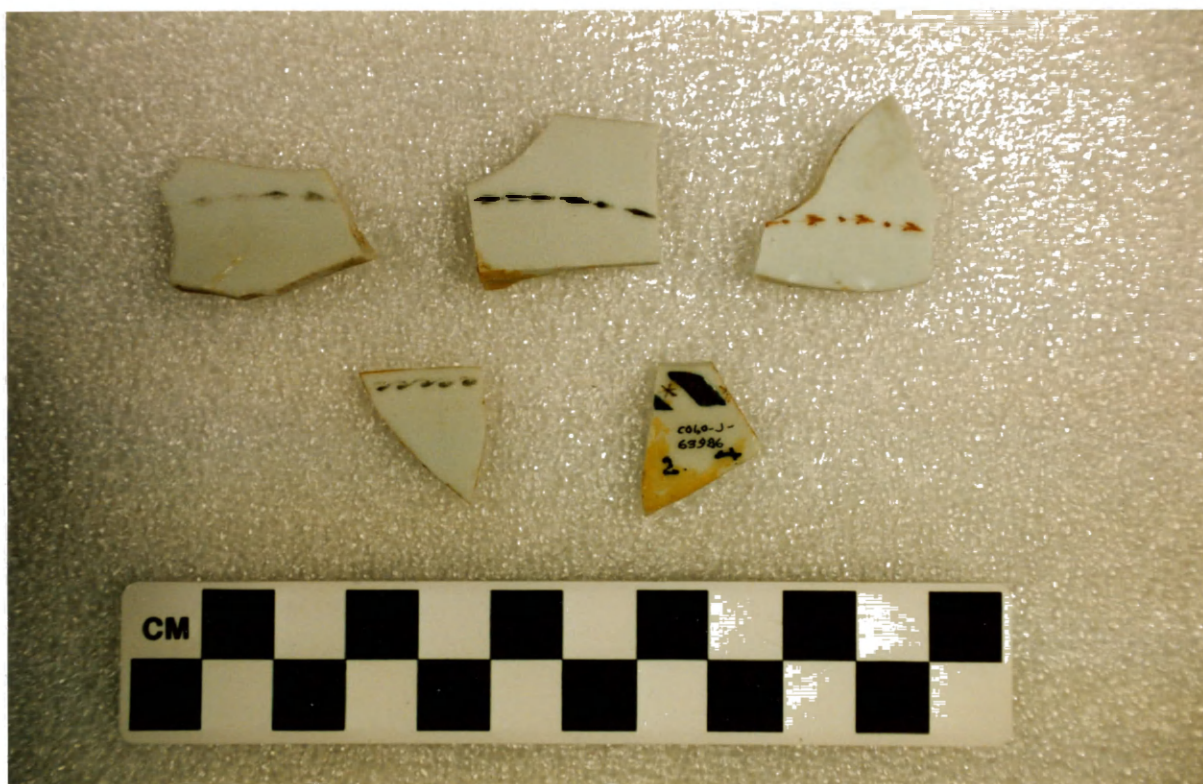


Figure 50. Sherds decorated with late eighteenth-century overglaze enameled bands and lines, excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1765-1810. (COLO-J-63,970 NO DATA top row, three variations of the *husk chain* motif (1780-1810); bottom left, a wave-like variant of the *dogtooth* motif (1765-1795); bottom right, a variant of the *blue band with stars* motif (1785-1805)).

husk chain motif, are found in extant collections and two examples are a platter in the Albany Institute of Art which belonged to Dirck Ten Broeck (1765-1832), a member of the New York Assembly, dated to "c.1785" (Howard 1985:77), and two teapots bearing the shields of both the United States and the state of New York pictured in *China for America* (Schiffer 1980:42). A sherd from a saucer with the husk chain motif painted in overglaze iron-red enamel was recovered from an archaeological context dating to circa 1782-1793 at the Dr. Barraud site in Williamsburg.

Dogtooth (1765-1795): Another easily identifiable, simple repeating late eighteenth-century overglaze enamel pattern which is part of the late eighteenth-century bands and lines category is the "dogtooth" (Howard 1974:148) pattern (figures 46,50). It consists of a series of repeating, pointy, or "wave-like" elements painted as a rim accent on both flatwares and hollowares. Like the other late eighteenth-century bands and lines, this motif is easily recognized due to its simplicity, repetitive use on vessels and the small size of the motif, thereby making identification on archaeological examples quite easy. One early example of the dogtooth motif exists from a service made for Jackson family and dated to circa 1765 (Howard 1974:656). Then there is a gap of some ten to fifteen years before several armorial services, dated to circa 1775-1780, were documented (Russell, King, Hamilton) (Howard 1974:654-

655). Judging by the number of post-1780 documented armorial services which exhibit the dogtooth motif, the peak of popularity of this motif would appear to be between 1780-1795. Several notable, published, and tightly dated examples of the dogtooth motif are known, one of which is a tureen, part of an armorial dinner service produced in 1785-1786 for Elias Haskett Derby (1739-1799), an owner of merchant ships sailing to Canton. Elias Derby was in Canton in 1785, at which time he ordered the dinner service of which the tureen was a part of (Schiffer 1980:52). A punch bowl, monogrammed with the initials of Thomas Mason, a ship's captain from Philadelphia and Charleston, with a combination of the blue enamel band and gilded stars and dogtooth, dating to "circa, 1790" has been published as well (Schiffer 1980:62). Several sherds from both saucers and teabowls with a wave-like variant of the dogtooth motif painted in overglaze iron-red enamel, and dated by David Howard to c.1785, were recovered from an archaeological context dating to circa 1782-1793 at the Dr. Barraud site in Williamsburg.

Blue Bands with Stars (1785-1805): Particularly popular in the American market, the thin blue band with stars pattern (figures 47,50,51), or the "blue band sown with gold stars" (Phillips 1956:58), as it has also been referred to, is believed to have originated on armorial porcelain for American families shortly before 1790 (Howard



Figure 51. Salt cellar decorated with late eighteenth-century overglaze enameled *blue band and stars* motif, c. 1785–1805. (Source: Howard, *The Choice of the Private Trader*, page 128).

1974:155). The motif is a simple one, formed of a thin blue overglaze enamel band, atop which are painted small gold stars. This pattern is repeated many times, and like the other late eighteenth-century band and line motifs, is found on the full range of teawares and tablewares. Ceramicists have commented on the popularity of the blue band with stars motif in America during the 1790's (Phillips 1956:58). Most often the stars are painted in a continuous level line, although there have been observed examples of Chinese wares, where the stars have been painted in different positions on the blue band, alternating, and thus staggering the placement of the stars closer to the edge of the blue band, as on the armorial service with the arms of M'Leay or Macleay, which dates to circa 1790 (Howard 1974:757). About the year 1790, there appears a great deal of armorial services, ordered with this blue band and stars rim pattern. Some of the early, circa 1790, armorial services were ordered with plain blue bands, although by 1795 it seems as though all of the blue band services were embellished with the addition of the gilded stars.

There exist several varieties of the blue enamel band and stars motif, all falling into the date range of approximately (1785-1805). In addition to the plain blue enamel band with the sequence of stars executed in gilding, there are varieties with the addition of blue enameled spearhead-and-dot painted beneath the band, and gilt husk chain motifs painted over the blue enamel band. Occasionally

the blue enamel band is painted in a wavy way, and there are examples of the blue enamel band with gilt stars with a "dogtooth" or wavy motif painted beneath the blue band. All of these variants of the blue enamel band and stars can be seen through examination of the armorial services illustrated in *Chinese Armorial Porcelain* (Howard 1974:741-763). Some of the first armorial services made with the blue band and star motif, and dating to circa 1790, were produced with the arms of South, Kettle, as well as with the Arms of the State of New York (Howard 1974:746-747, 753).

Many known examples of late eighteenth-century Chinese wares from museum collections decorated with the, "...simple blue enamel band and stars which were popular in the early 1790's" (Howard 1985:81) have been documented, including one of two teabowls from the Van Cortlandt Manor in New York dated "c.1785-1790". Two pieces decorated with the enamelled blue band and gilt stars are documented from the collection of Doris and Leo Hodroff. One is a salt cellar dating to "c.1795" (Howard 1994:128), the other a mug "c.1795" (Howard 1994:196), decorated with alternating stars instead of the more common even band of gilt stars. Another piece, a magnificent Society of the Cincinnati punch bowl dating "c.1790-1800" (Howard 1985:79) from the collection of the Morristown National Historic Park in New York. Incidentally, there exists an application for membership of Richard Varick to the Society dated January 1, 1784, and there is a punch bowl with the text of the membership

application enameled on a punch bowl bearing the blue enamel band and gilt stars and the blue enamel band with the husk chain painted atop the blue band, dating this piece to about 1782-1784 (Schiffer 1980:131). There is also a teabowl and saucer with the blue enamel band and gilt stars, featuring the arms of the State of New York in the Helena Woolworth McCann collection documented by John Goldsmith Phillips in his landmark 1956 work, *China-Trade Porcelain* (Phillips 1956:204), as another teabowl and saucer pictured in the work *China for America* (Schiffer 1980:41).

Half-Circle and Dot (1780-1800): The final late eighteenth-century band and line motif to be considered within the context of this study, is the half-circle and dot motif (figures 48,52) which was popular on Chinese export dinner and teawares which date to the period between 1780-1800. The overglaze enamel design is made up of a series of half-circles, or arches which are joined at the terminal ends of the half-circle. There is then a dot, sometimes two dots, painted in approximately the area which would be the center of the circle. There is quite a wide variability of this motif, but the half-circle and dot is the striking and foundational aspect of this motif. The standard orientation of this motif, is that the half-circles are painted with the curved side pointing to the outside edge of the rim of the plate with the two ends of the half circle pointing to the cavetto, or marley of the plate. There are examples where

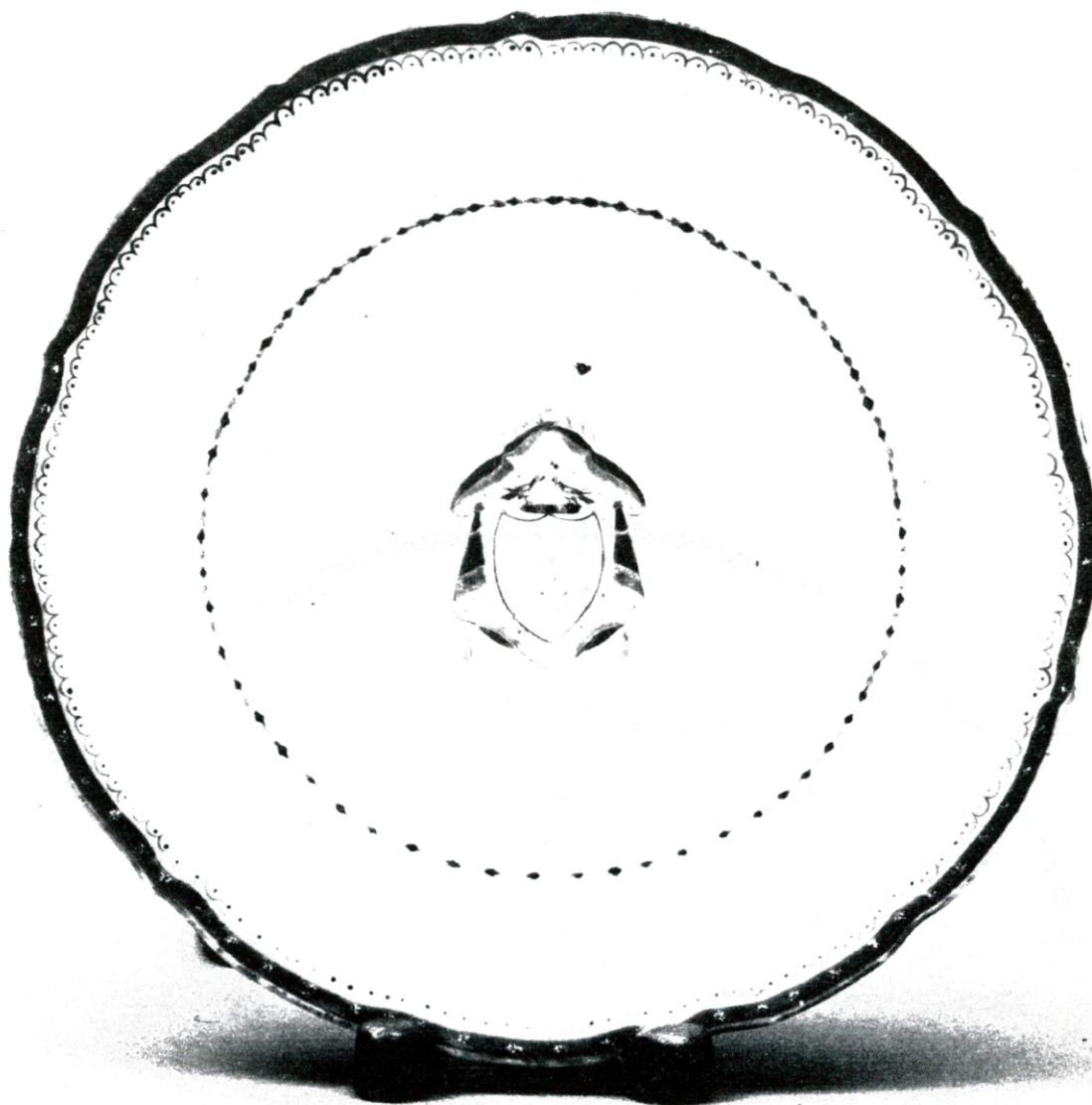


Figure 52. A plate decorated with the *half-circle and dot* motif in overglaze enamels, c. 1780–1800. (Source: Mudge, *China for America*, page 81).

this order is reversed and the curved side of the half-circle is pointing toward the cavetto, or marley, while the two ends of the half-circle point to the edge of the rim. Examples of this alternate orientation are published on two plates, one made "circa 1784" (Schiffer 1980:48) for John Morgan of Hartford, Connecticut and known to have been brought back to America aboard the maiden voyage of the *Empress of China*. The second is a plate, almost identically enamelled with the name "Elias Morgan", brother of John Morgan mentioned above (Schiffer 1980:49), and dated to "c.1795" (Howard 1974:747). It is interesting to note that the half-circle and dot motifs on the two previously mentioned plates are painted along with the blue enamel band and gilt husks variant of the motif blue enamel band and gilt stars motif. All of these various alternate orientations of the half-circle and dot motif appear to have been produced during the same time period (1780-1800) as the standard motif orientation. Additionally, the half-circle and dot motif might be added to with a single, or double line painted around the vessel underneath this motif. This motif has been known to have been used in combination with the blue enamel band and gilt star motif discussed above.

Tightly datable armorial examples containing the half-circle and dot motif have been documented, a few being a service produced with the arms of the state of New York, dated to "c.1790" (Howard 1974:755), probably the arms of Cooke dated to "c.1790" (Howard 1974:758), Spence, dated to

"c.1795" (Howard 1974:748), Ploe of Radbourne, dated to "c.1795" (Howard 1974:1795), with the latest bearing the coat of arms of St. John, dated to "c.1800" (Howard 1974:763), and Pratt, Earl of Camden, dated to "c.1800" (Howard 1974:765).

An example of a monogrammed plate, part of a dinner service made for Robert Hooper (1709-1791) and his wife, exhibits this particular combination of late eighteenth-century band and line motifs (Schiffer 1980:81). An archaeological example of tea bowl sherds of Chinese export ware bearing the half-circle and dot motif, comes from the Dr. Barraud trash pit, a dated context of between 1782-1793. The sherd from the Dr. Barraud trash pit was evaluated by Mr. David S. Howard, and dated to approximately 1795.

Nanking/Fitzhugh (1764-1820):

Confusion, Misattribution of Nanking and Fitzhugh Styles:

There is considerable confusion within the ceramic literature concerning the naming of the late eighteenth-century styles known as Nanking and Fitzhugh. The shaded trellis and spearhead with double-dot border known to most collectors of Chinese wares as 'Nanking', actually is known as the earliest 'true Fitzhugh' border which dates to about 1765 (Howard 1974:53-54). This same border was referred to by Richard Farrer, George Washington's 'factor', as "Nankn bordr.", in 1766, on an underglaze blue and white punch bowl purchased for George Washington (Detweiler 1982:53).

Indeed, this same border was used on the initial Chinese porcelain service ordered by Thomas Fitzhugh, probably when he was in China between 1779 and 1781 (Howard 1974:53;Howard and Ayers 1978:498).

Confusingly, the borders with the butterfly, scroll and diaper motifs commonly referred to as 'Fitzhugh' style borders in the Chinese porcelain literature (Tudor-Craig 1928:149;Gordon 1952:154), were grouped and known as 'Nanking', or the finer quality of underglaze blue and white wares, during the eighteenth-century. Indeed, until the August, 1928 article, 'Chinese Armorial Porcelain', which appeared in *Antiques* magazine, there was no specific reference to a 'Fitzhugh' pattern in Chinese porcelain during the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries (Howard and Ayers 1978:498). Thus, within the context of this study, three late eighteenth-century underglaze blue painted borders will be grouped and discussed as Nanking/Fitzhugh, owing to the considerable confusion and use of the term. The historical background and description of the Nanking/Fitzhugh borders are discussed as 'Nanking' because the term 'Fitzhugh' to describe a particular decorative pattern, is really a confusing twentieth-century convention. This confusion surrounding the Nanking/Fitzhugh borders, does not present a problem for historical archaeologists, because the date ranges for these three Nanking/Fitzhugh border patterns are all well documented and discussed in the pages which follow.

Description of the Nanking/Fitzhugh Borders:

The beginning of the production of the wares known as Nanking, coincided with the continued decline in quality of Chinese wares during the eighteenth-century. Mid eighteenth-century Chinese blue and white porcelain, as well as the enamelled wares made for the export market, underwent a general, and readily noticeable decline in quality (Garner 1954:51). Although not universally accepted, it is thought by some scholars of Chinese porcelain that this decline in quality is attributable to internal matters within China, and specifically, the result of the changes of the directors of the imperial kilns of Jingdezhen (Scott 1992; Frank 1969). A readily identifiable decline of the quality of the porcelains is recognized to have begun by the time of the death of Tang Ying, the director of the imperial kilns from 1736-1756 (Scott 1992:9-10). The decline in the quality of the porcelains, continued throughout the last half of the eighteenth-century, and accelerated after 1786, due to the change that the directors of the imperial kilns were no longer appointed by the imperial household, but were instead appointed at the provincial level (Scott 1992:10).

The introduction of the wares which are known as Nanking, which occurs by 1764 (Howard, personal communication, 1992) happens a few years after the initial decline in porcelain quality. Some connoisseurs of Chinese wares comment with regard to the decline in the quality as

exhibited by the Nanking style, "...the blue and white services (Nanking) lost all their artistic character" (Beurdeley 1962:26).

As with the vast majority of the underglaze blue and white Chinese porcelains, the Nanking/Fitzhugh wares were painted, fired, potted and finished at the kilns of Jingdezhen, and that no Chinese wares were ever produced at Nanking (Lloyd Hyde 1964:71), the ware has always been associated with the south China town of Nanking. The term Nanking is thought to have stuck, due to the fact that the wares had to pass through the town of Nanking, prior to being loaded on Chinese junks for the remainder of their transport to Canton, where the European factories were located (Beurdeley 1962:28). Also contributing to the naming of these wares as Nanking, was the Chinese use of the term Nankeen to mean many things of distinction, as well as the Chinese term for these wares (Lloyd Hyde 1964:71). The term Nanking, or Nanquin as it was commonly spelled during the eighteenth-century in colonial America, was a general term to describe any sort, and style of underglaze blue and white Chinese wares (Mudge 1982: 211; Crosby Forbes 1982). Eighteenth-century English usage of the term Nanking referred to any underglaze blue and white ware, made after the mid-eighteenth-century onward, and this usage of the term is reflected in the eighteenth-century English records (Godden 1979:129). One of the earliest recorded accounts of the use of the term Nanking, is a 1756 account book entry of

a London Chinaman including the entry, "Nankeen cups and saucers" (Godden 1979:129). Other spellings of the term Nanking included: Nankin, and Nankeen (Godden 1979:129). During the early Federal period, and throughout much of the nineteenth-century, the term Nanking was used to refer to the finer quality underglaze blue and white Chinese wares, not specifically to the patterns we associate today with the Nanking style (Crosby Forbes 1982).

The use of the term Nanking to refer to a particular underglaze blue and white motif, should not be confused with another of the Chinese export trade commodities, Nankeen, or Nanking linen. Nankeen was a "finely woven, shiny linen" which was regularly bought by the East India Company supercargos starting about 1745 (Jorg 1982:83). Some of the finer pieces of Nanking ware had overglaze, burnished, gold bands which were added in England (Godden 1979:131), or simple swags and dots painted around the rim of teabowls, saucers or coffee (chocolate) cups (Beurdeley 1962:28; Lloyd Hyde 1964:71). The English addition of decoration to the Nanking wares was a common practice. It has been acknowledged that the English decoration was added in London at the decorating studio of Thomas Baxter (Howard 1974:34), but it is thought that there were many London decorators and China dealers who commonly added gilding to enhance the Nanking wares (Godden 1979:149-157). The typical tea service in Nanking style, included forty-three individual vessels including, "teapot, cover and stand, sugar-bowl,

cover and plate, slop-bowl and plate, tea cannister and cover, milk pot and cover, spoon-tray, twelve tea bowls, six coffee cups, twelve saucers" (Godden 1979:131). The typical Nanking table service did not include a set number of vessels and there was considerable variation in the make up of the complete table service. A Nanking table service sold by Christie's in July of 1767 included, "a tureen, cover and stand, two smaller ditto, 16 oblong dishes, 8 various dishes, 74 plates, 12 soup plates, 4 sauce boats, 4 salts" (Godden 1979:132-133). There were also "breakfast sets" in the Nanking style; an eighteenth-century auction sale catalogue reads, "A remarkable fine Nankeen breakfast set, containing a large teapot, 6 basons and plates, a sugar bowl, cover and plate, a bason and cream ewer" (Godden 1979:138). The breakfast basins are nearly identical in shape and form as the slop bowl, making identification of archaeological examples as either slop or breakfast basin problematic.

The readily identifiable and datable aspects of the Nanking/Fitzhugh patterns which will be covered here are the three common border styles, each border style having its own readily identifiable and datable morphological characteristics; butterfly, scroll and diaper (1764-1800) (figure 53), butterfly, scroll and diaper with scales (1785-1800) (figures 54,58) and the shaded trellis diaper with either dumbbells and spearheads, or scroll spearheads, also known as the "trellis spearhead and double dot" (Crosby

Forbes 1982) (1765–1820) (figures 56,60–62). Although there are datable aspects of the central Chinese landscape (Crosby Forbes 1982), a full explanation of the wide range of varieties of Chinese landscape motifs on the Nanking wares is beyond the scope of this study.

The *butterfly, scroll and diaper* (1764–1800) rim variant of the Nanking pattern, referred to in the literature as the Fitzhugh rim pattern (Mudge 1962:141), is recognized to have begun by 1764 and has a terminal date of 1800 (Howard, personal communication 1992). Although not in its fully developed form, an early representation of the butterfly, scroll and diaper motif is documented from the Chinese porcelain cargo of the English East Indiaman, the *Griffin*, which sank in 1761 (Goddio and Jay 1988:appendix 5). This motif is recognized by the intricate and very complex, although hurriedly painted border of a repeating of butterflies with their wings extended, Chinese scrolls (usually painted on a diagonal), and an irregular area of square boxes, or lattice work resembling fishscales. The *butterfly, scroll and diaper* motifs are intermixed with Chinese flowers and geometric shapes, and the whole motif is commonly repeated four times around the border, making identification of this Nanking boarder style very easy. This is one of the earliest recognizable variants of the Nanking style.

The *butterfly, scroll and diaper, with scales* (1785–1800) motif is very similar to the *butterfly, scroll and*

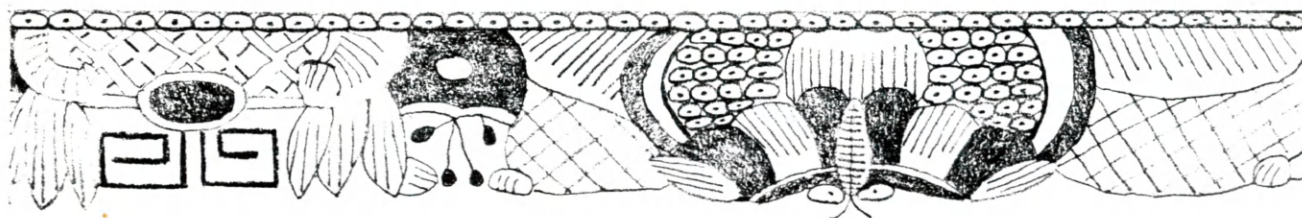


Figure 53. Nanking-Butterfly, scroll and diaper (1764-1800).
(Illustration by the author).

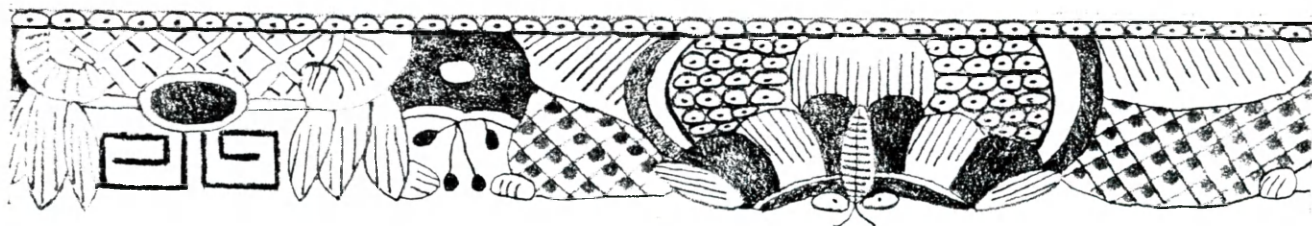


Figure 54. Nanking-Butterfly, scroll and diaper with scales
(1785-1800). Illustration of the motif as on the sherds from
the Dr. Barraud trash pit, Williamsburg, Virginia.
(Illustration by the author)

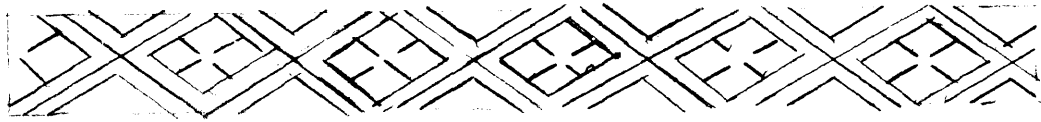


Figure 55. *Blue trellis*, (1690-1790). (Illustration by David Madsen).

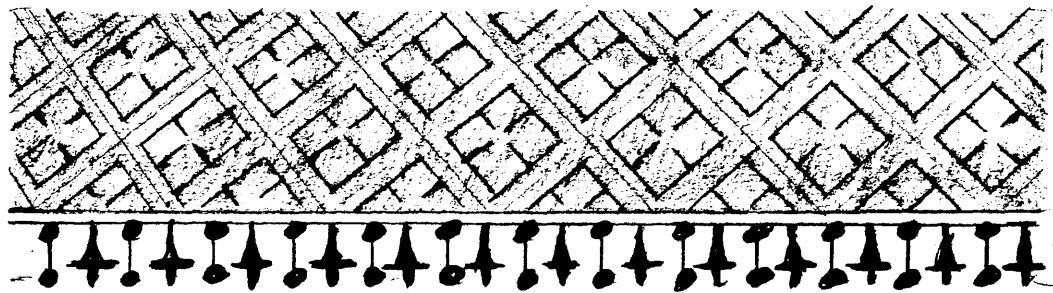


Figure 56. *Nanking-Shaded trellis diaper with spearheads*, (1765-1820). (Illustration by David Madsen).

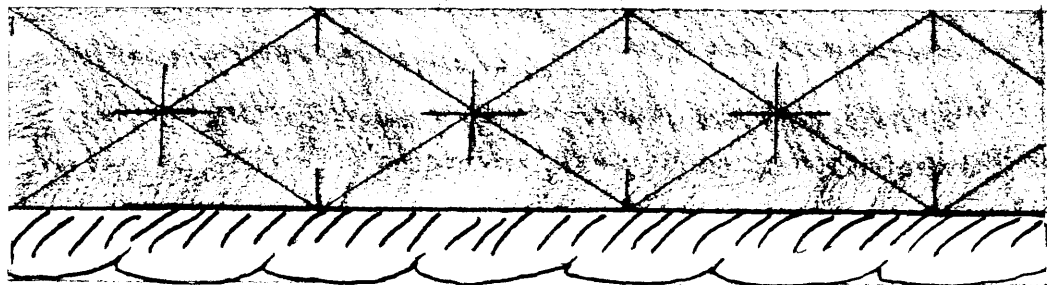


Figure 57. *Canton pattern*, (1785-1853). (Illustration by David Madsen).



Figure 58. A platter decorated with the *Nanking-Butterfly, scroll and diaper with scales* motif excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1785-1800. (COLO-J-63,492 NO DATA).

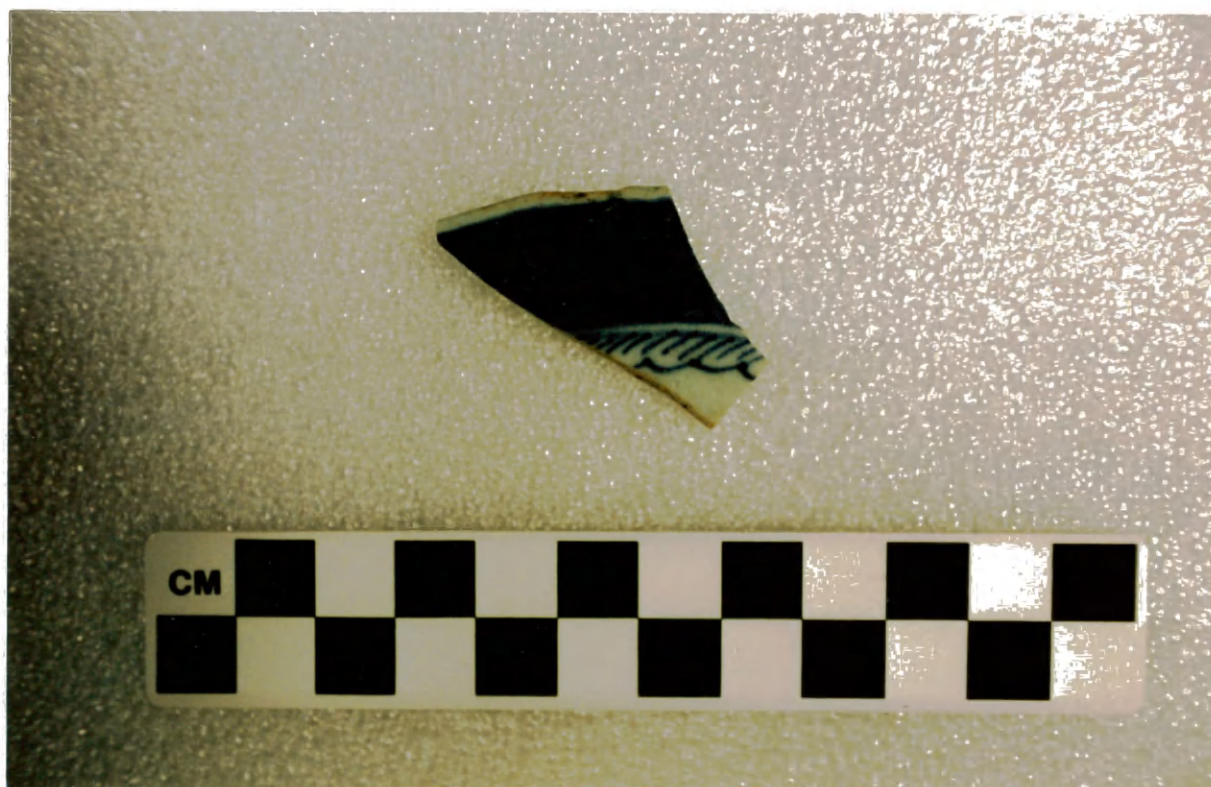


Figure 59. A plate rim decorated with the *Canton* pattern excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1785-1853. (COLO-J-63,488 NO DATA).

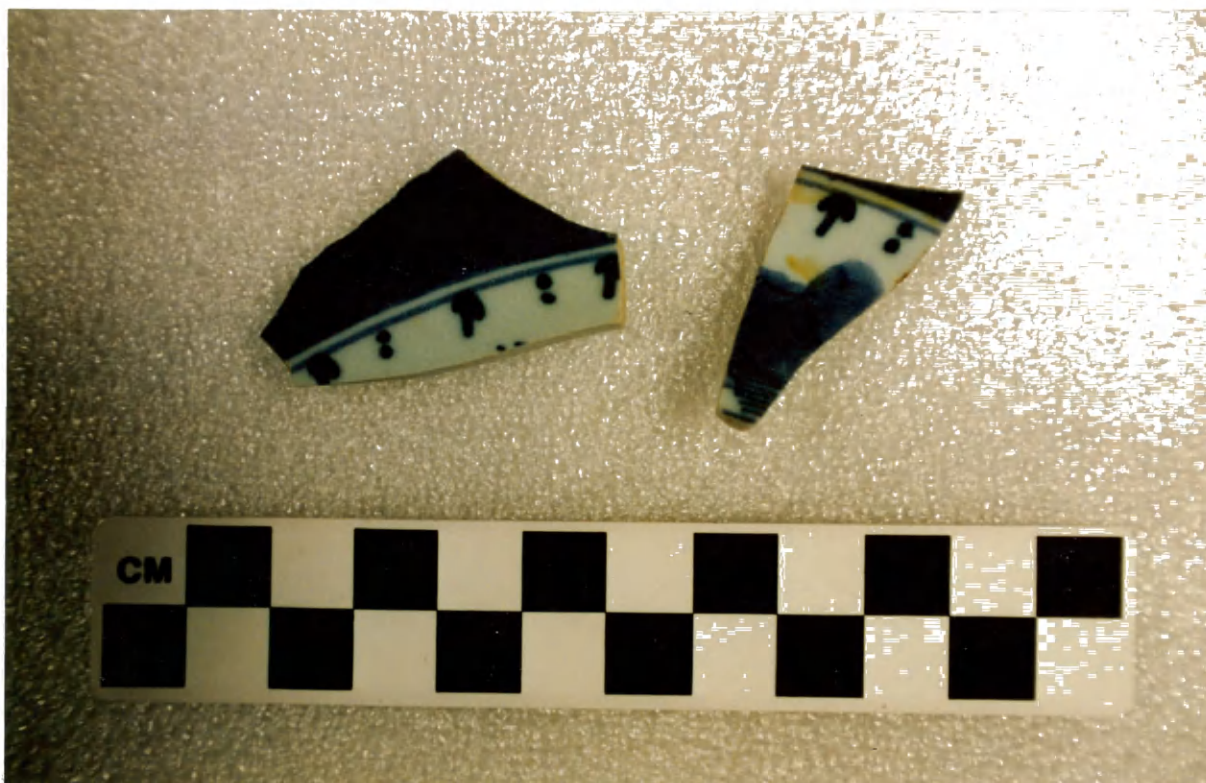


Figure 60. Sherds from a saucer decorated with the Nanking-shaded *trellis diaper with spearheads* motif excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1765-1820. (COLO-J-63,488 NO DATA).



Figure 61. Sherds from a small pitcher or cider jug decorated with Nanking-shaded *trellis diaper with spearheads* motif excavated from Jamestown Island, c. 1765-1820. (COLO-J-63,184 FS3702).



Figure 62. Plate decorated with the Nanking-shaded *trellis diaper with spearheads* motif, c. 1765-1820. (Source: Schiffer, *China for America*, page 84).

diaper motif, with the exception that the irregular area of square boxes, resembling fishscales has been added to by adding a dot of cobalt blue in one corner of each of the boxes, which together makes up the *diaper*. It should be remembered that the Chinese wares were painted by a series of painters, each responsible for the careful and painstaking execution of one particular decorative element and that over the years, between painters and over the period of years of decline in quality, there exists a wide variety of quality and style of the Nanking *butterfly, scroll and diaper* motif. Unlike the more standardized, regularized transfer printed Creamwares and Pearlwares produced in Staffordshire during the same period, the designs executed on the Chinese wares were handpainted and thus one must make allowances for slight variations in the combination of the three key elements, which together constitute the *butterfly, scroll and diaper* motif. An example of the differences in variation of this motif can be seen through an examination of the many sherds of Nanking *butterfly, scroll and diaper, with scales* found in the Dr. Barraud trash pit, dating to 1783-1793. While the *butterfly, and diaper with scales* is readily identifiable on most of the sherds from this assemblage, the Chinese *scroll* is noticeably absent from these sherds. This does not, however, eliminate it from inclusion as an example of the *butterfly, scroll and diaper, with scales* motif and can be assigned the date range of 1785-1800.

In the future, as more late eighteenth-century shipwrecks of East Indiamen are excavated, and the porcelain cargoes photographed and published, it may be possible to assign a date range to the *butterfly, and diaper, with scales* motif. An example of a platter decorated with the *butterfly, and diaper, with scales* motif was recovered from the 1817 shipwreck of the *Diana* (Christie's 1995:52-53), however, it appears to be a vessel used by the crew, rather than part of the bulk export wares on board as it is the only example of this motif from this shipwreck.

In addition, among these Nanking borders there are numerous other accompanying ancillary motifs besides the Chinese flowers and geometric shapes mentioned above. In their place might be the Grecian key pattern, patches of the "X" diaper pattern, and there may be a series of 'fish roe' around the edge of the rim, as seen on the sherds from the Dr. Barraud trash pit assemblage.

The shaded "X" diaper with either dumbbells and spearheads, or scroll spearheads (1765-1820) is the third datable rim variety of the Nanking/Fitzhugh pattern. This rim pattern has also been referred to in the literature as "alternating 'daggers' and 'dots'" (Schiffer 1980:189) and "trellis spearhead and double dot" (Crosby Forbes 1982). While there is usually very little variation in the shaded "X" diaper section of this rim pattern, there are numerous variations and orientations of the spearhead part. Often, both the spearhead and dumbbell are arranged together, but

variations such as the one from the Dr. Barraud trash pit, and the one with spearheads only dated to c.1795 from the armorial service of Drummond, Viscount Strathallan, and others (Howard 1974:715-737, 980-984) are subtly different variations of this Nanking rim pattern. This Nanking rim pattern was adapted from the "true Fitzhugh" rim pattern, which was first recognized to occur as early as 1765, twenty years prior to its being associated with the Fitzhugh pattern ordered by Colonel Fitzhugh c.1780 (Howard 1974: 51-53, 150). In the 1765 rim pattern, the dumbbell part of the rim motif is joined to the shaded trellis section, while on the c.1780 Thomas FitzHugh service, the dumbbell motifs are slightly separated from the shaded trellis section (Howard 1974:53). This rim pattern is identical to the "true" Fitzhugh rim pattern as described by Mr. David Howard (Howard 1974:52, 150-151, 689-690), and documented to have been on the armorial service made for Colonel Thomas FitzHugh c.1780. Another armorial example of the "true" Fitzhugh/Nanking rim pattern was produced for Sir Hugh Inglis, Chairman of the East India Company, c.1802 (Howard 1974:52). Numerous examples of this variety of the Nanking/Fitzhugh border were recovered in 1994 from the 1817 shipwreck of the English vessel the *Diana*, extending the ending date of this pattern to approximately 1820 (Christie's 1995).

The main difference between this Nanking/Fitzhugh rim pattern, and the wares termed by collectors, "Fitzhugh" is

that the Nanking/Fitzhugh rim occurs with a variety of the Chinese river landscape pattern, while the collector's "Fitzhugh" occurs with four central underglaze blue cartouches of Chinese flower, scroll and leaves. This rim pattern is most commonly found archaeologically in Virginia in underglaze blue and white, but non-archaeological examples in green have been observed (Schiffer 1980:189). It is characterized by a well executed "X" diaper pattern in dark cobalt blue, followed by a cobalt blue wash, placed directly on top of the "X" diaper pattern with extended spearheads and "dumbbells", scroll-type spearheads, or other fairly well painted variation of a spearhead motif. This third Nanking rim pattern is the one which is most easily confused with the similar Canton rim styles, but the quality of the painting is much more refined than the majority of the Canton forms. It should be remembered that while the vast majority of the Nanking wares were significantly better painted than the Canton style wares, the better Canton wares could be of better quality than the lower quality Nanking wares (Frank 1969:84). The interior landscape scene in the well of the vessel can be the same as would be used in conjunction with the other two Nanking styles mentioned above. An excellent example of this third Nanking border style is seen on one plate rim sherd from the Dr. Barraud trash pit.

Nanking and Canton: Descriptions of Vessel Form and Quality:

The variety of vessel forms found in both Nanking and Canton wares, encompassed the full range of both table and teawares including cups, saucers, mugs plates, hot water plates, platters, cream pitchers, sugar bowls, sauce boats, oval and octagonal tureens, bone dishes, tea, coffee and chocolate pots, vases, candlesticks, candy dishes, and inkwells. One could also obtain in 1767, Nanking knife and fork handles, and punch bowls as well as wash-stand ewers and basins, chamber pots, occasionally including covers (Godden 1979:138). The overall quality of the Nanking and Canton wares is much reduced from the more finely painted earlier eighteenth-century Kangxi (1662-1722) wares. As one ceramicist narrates,

"(The blue color) ranges in tone from grayish lavender to a harsh sapphire. Early pieces show a hard grayish, blue or green-tinted white. A shallow dead-white appears on most later pieces. Potting is heavy, intended for rough service" (Frank 1969:86).

Over the years there has been made the assertion that the Nanking/Fitzhugh wares were followed chronologically and replaced by the inferior quality, less well painted, Canton wares, but the Chinese export cargo excavated from the 1817 wreck of the *Diana* reveals that on this one ship were examples of the most finely executed Nanking/Fitzhugh shaded "X" diaper and dumbbell styles as well as the typical less detailed and inferior Canton style wares.

From an evaluation of the bulk underglaze blue and white wares aboard the *Diana* it is readily apparent that the

difference in style between Nanking/Fitzhugh and Canton does not represent a continued temporal decline in quality, or a load of "seconds" but a concurrent difference in style which may be a reflection of two tiers of quality in underglaze blue and white, each differently priced based on the quality. The Chinese potters at Jingdezhen during the period between 1785-1820 were apparently producing both the finer wares referred to as Nanking/Fitzhugh as well as the Canton style wares. The consumer in London, or Williamsburg then could select either the Nanking/Fitzhugh shaded "X" diaper border, or the Canton style wares from approximately 1785-1820.

Canton (1785-1853): Like the terms Nanking and Fitzhugh, the term Canton is a confusing one to the uninitiated student of the East India trade and eighteenth-century Chinese wares. It has been used over the centuries to refer to many different things regarding the subject. It is the name of the port, through which, the vast majority of the Chinese wares manufactured in Jingdezhen were ordered and shipped to the West. It had also been used in a general manner to refer to the lesser quality underglaze blue and white porcelain, as well as all blue and white landscape-decorated Chinese wares (Crosby Forbes 1982), much as the term Nanking was used to denote the finer quality blue and white wares, without regard to a specific design, motif or pattern. The term, Canton, has also been used by the

British to refer to the rose medallion polychrome Chinese wares of 1820–1920, as well as the blue and white Chinese wares (Crosby Forbes 1982). It has also been used to refer to a specific early nineteenth-century decorative motif, and variety of underglaze blue and white Chinese export ware. Some authors have even referred to Canton and Nanking styles as differing qualities of the same style. One Chinese ceramic scholar writes, "In America these late Nankin porcelains are usually called 'Canton'" (Godden 1979:164), and Noel Hume indicated that, "Slightly better quality versions of the same late blue and white wares (Canton) possessed border designs with daggers or spearheads below the inner edge, a style known as 'Nanking', as opposed to those with mere swags, which are termed 'Canton'" (Noel Hume 1969:262–263). The reference to the particular style and pattern of underglaze blue and white export ware is the manner in which the appellation 'Canton' is discussed here.

The Canton rim pattern (figures 57,59) is distinguished from the Nanking/Fitzhugh rim pattern in that the third Nanking/Fitzhugh rim pattern, *the shaded "X" diaper with either dumbbells and spearheads, or scroll spearheads (1780–1820)*, has as part of this style the dumbbells and spearheads, while the Canton rim pattern has in its place, a border of short diagonal lines within a continuous scalloped, wavy line. The Canton rim pattern has also been described as, "network and scallop" (Crosby Forbes 1982), and "...a lattice or network border in solid blue, light or

dark, with wavy or scalloped lines above" (Lloyd Hyde 1964:71). There are also qualitative differences between the shaded "X" diaper pattern of the Nanking and Canton rim patterns. As a general rule, the Nanking shaded "X" diaper section is painted with more precision, with a tighter trellis, and greater detail than that of the Canton rim pattern pieces. In addition, the Chinese landscape, or the "'island,' 'island and bridge,' or 'willow' design" (Tindall 1975:157), as it is sometimes referred to, of the Nanking patterns, is likewise usually painted in greater detail and with greater precision, than that of the Canton pattern. Common elements of the Chinese landscape central motif, which is said to have been the pattern for the 'willow pattern', so common on early nineteenth-century transfer printed Pearlware, include the islands, boats, bridge, willow trees, "humpbacked bridges" (Beurdeley 1962:28), and the so-called 'eloping lovers' (Lloyd Hyde 1964:71). Like the Chinese landscape pattern in the center of the Nanking style plates, the Chinese landscape pattern on the Canton style vessels is made up of a grouping including a river, islands, a bridge with three arches, teahouses, both willow and pine trees, mountains, rocks, boats and clouds. A particular element separating the Nanking scenes from the Canton scenes, aside from the usual marked difference in quality, is that there is usually an anthropomorphic figure, or approximation thereof in one of the windows of the teahouses (Tindall 1975:157). Like the Nanking/Fitzhugh

patterns, the Canton pattern was manufactured for export only, and not for domestic Chinese use, although elements of all three styles are found on Chinese domestic wares (Tindall 1975:157). A significant difference between the Nanking/Fitzhugh styles and the Canton styles is that although gilding was occasionally added to Nanking wares, it was never added to the Canton style wares.

There is an extremely wide range of variation of quality within the Canton rim pattern, and style. Many pieces are comparable in quality with the mediocre Nanking/Fitzhugh pieces, however the majority are very hurriedly painted, of low quality and vastly inferior to the Nanking/Fitzhugh wares. The early nineteenth-century concern regarding the wide variation of quality within the body of Canton wares is evident from the 1813 writing of William Milburn who wrote, "There is an infinite variety of this sort of china, both as to form, coloring, workmanship and price" (Milburn 1813:503). Another comment regarding the observed continuing decline in quality of the early nineteenth-century Chinese wares taken from an 1821 order for Chinese wares notes, "...purchase me a dining-set of China dark-blue, with 2 or 3 extra 20 inch dishes---all free from knobs & specks" (Mudge 1962:76). As the early nineteenth-century proceeded, the quality of the painting of both the Chinese landscape scene and the rim pattern became increasingly hurriedly painted, and without the clarity and fine detail characterized by most of the Nanking underglaze

blue wares. As one ceramicist has noted, "There is no swift deterioration, but as the century advances the drawing becomes more and more perfunctory and mechanical, and the body itself begins to degenerate" (Jenyns 1951:72). Another comments, "The decline in standards, started in the reign of Ch'ien Lung, continued rapidly in the subsequent reigns of the Ch'ing dynasty, Chia Ch'ing (1796-1820), Tao Kuang (1821-1850). The decline is particularly noticeable in the quality of the porcelain itself and the white glaze. The clear smooth slightly greenish glaze of the early nineteenth century was replaced by a glaze of poor color, often grayish, with a slightly uneven surface of the type described as 'orange peel'. ...it is not surprising that the popularity of the blue and white, now so obviously inferior to the earlier wares, declined" (Garner 1954:52). Another author comments with regard to the noticeable decline of the Canton style wares that, "...in comparison with eighteenth-century porcelains these nineteenth-century wares are heavy, rather crude, lacking in charm and design, but they filled a need --- a robust porcelain for the New World" (Godden 1979:164).

Many historical archaeologists have adopted, and used unquestioningly Ivor Noel Hume's date range of 1800-1830 (Noel Hume 1969:262) as the date range for Canton style underglaze blue and white wares. Scholars of late eighteenth-century Chinese wares have argued for years that the Canton style actually developed during the third quarter

of the eighteenth-century (Frank 1969; Crossman 1976:19; Godden 1979:164, 298). Although both American and European imports of Chinese porcelain steadily declined during the nineteenth-century, the Canton style was very popular throughout the nineteenth-century (Tindall 1975:159) and continues to be produced today in China. For the purposes of historical archaeologists, however, a terminal date of 1853 is justified as that year marked the virtual destruction of the porcelain industry at Jingdezhen during the T'aip'ing rebellion, virtually ending both the American and European export trade in porcelain during the nineteenth-century (Gordon 1975:9).

Like the Nanking/Fitzhugh wares, there were a multitude of vessel forms in which the Canton style could be purchased. Common vessel forms in the Canton style included tea and coffee pots in both the drum and "lighthouse" shapes, creamers in the helmet shape, bakers, pudding dishes, butter boats, and milk pots, cider flagons. Even candlesticks, garden seats, fruit baskets with handles, cut-corner bowls and mugs and tankards with Staffordshire Creamware style intertwined handles exist (Tindall 1975:163).

The noticeable absence of significant discussion of Canton style wares in English works on the subject of Chinese wares is understandable, when it is noted that the cessation of the British East India Company trade in 1801 (Howard, personal communication 1992), occurred at the same

time as the initial boom in the manufacture and export of the Canton style wares during the early nineteenth-century. In America, during the early Federal period, the Canton style began and developed just as the American East India trade was in full swing, consequently, there is more detailed discussions of the Canton style, and its marked prevalence on American archaeological sites of the early Federal period indicate the importance of this style of underglaze blue and white Chinese export ware in America. While many connoisseurs of Chinese wares do not consider Canton a style worthy of great attention, many collectors of Chinese wares in America actively seek it out, and it is very popular, and collectible today. Indeed, during the early nineteenth-century the American export trade flourished and the interest in and demand for the Canton style Chinese wares remained quite high (Lloyd Hyde 1964:71).

Particularly after the American Revolution, Nanking/Fitzhugh and then Canton styles of underglaze blue and white wares became very affordable, and just as plentiful (Mudge 1982:209). Canton style Chinese porcelain, as well as the other early nineteenth-century commodities of the China Trade: fans, tortoise shell combs, shirts, handkerchiefs, thread, yardgoods, sugar, indigo, and tea reached new heights of popularity.

CHAPTER IV

A Test of the Date Ranges Discussed for Eighteenth-Century
Chinese Export Porcelain as Described and Illustrated: The
Re-Evaluation of Dr. Barraud Trash Pit.

As a test of the validity, and usefulness as part of the calculation of a mean ceramic date for an archaeological ceramic assemblage, of the re-worked date ranges described and illustrated in this thesis of eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain, I have re-analyzed the Chinese porcelains from the Dr. Barraud trash pit. There are several factors, which when combined, make a re-analysis and re-calculation of the Dr. Barraud trash pit ceramic assemblage, a particularly good test of the date ranges for the Chinese porcelain I have described as part of this study. 1). A sizeable percentage of the total ceramic assemblage from the Dr. Barraud trash pit, some 38.8% of all of the ceramics, were Chinese wares.

2). The documentary record serves as a 'control' for this test, because it reveals that Dr. Barraud first resided on the property in 1782, when he appears in the Williamsburg tax records as taxed 1/2 of lot #19, and he is known to have moved from the property and relocated to Norfolk in 1793.

3). The Chinese porcelain was included in the calculation of the mean ceramic date. The Stanley South table listing the date range for "underglaze blue Chinese porcelain" (South 1978:72) and "overglaze enamelled Chinese export porcelain" (South 1978:72) as 1660-1800, with a median date of 1730 infusing a huge error into the calculation of a mean ceramic date for a late eighteenth-century assemblage with a large amount of Chinese porcelain such as the Dr. Barraud site.

The combination of a very tightly dated ceramic assemblage, specifically known to have been related to Dr. Barraud (1783-1792), the large percentage of which, Chinese wares constituted of the total ceramic assemblage, combined with the inclusion of the Chinese porcelain in the calculation of the mean ceramic date makes the re-analysis of the Chinese wares and re-calculation of the mean ceramic date for the Dr. Barraud assemblage using the date ranges as discussed in this thesis a particularly useful exercise.

Introduction to the Dr. Barraud Site, Williamsburg, Virginia, and the Initial Calculation of the erroneous Mean Ceramic Date:

In the Fall of 1987, the Department of Archaeological Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation conducted salvage archaeological excavations, as part of the proposed renovation of the Dr. Barraud property in Williamsburg. The majority of the Dr. Barraud ceramic assemblage, including the Chinese wares, was recovered from this trash pit, known

as trash pit "A" (Samford 1988:4). The trash pit was described as, "Circular in shape and five feet in diameter...contained three distinct layers of fill" (Gordon 1988:1). It was concluded by the Department of Archaeological Research that the artifacts recovered from the Dr. Barraud trash pit were associated with the (1783-1792) occupation by Dr. Barraud of the property.

As part of the ceramic analysis of the artifacts recovered from the Dr. Barraud site, a Stanley South mean ceramic date was calculated for the ceramic assemblage. Of the 186 sherds which were part of the mean ceramic date calculation, some 69, or 37% were Chinese wares. The inclusion of the Chinese porcelain in the calculation of the mean ceramic date meant that all of the porcelain, both underglaze blue and overglaze enameled was assigned the median date of 1730. The mean ceramic date was thus calculated as 1770, some twelve years prior to 1782, the earliest Dr. Barraud is known to have occupied the property.

The mean ceramic date for the Dr. Barraud assemblage was thrown off so dramatically, because of the early mean date of 1730 for all Chinese wares, and because the Chinese wares constituted such a large percentage of the ceramic assemblage. In order to ameliorate the obvious problem of calculating a mean ceramic date well before the documented arrival of Dr. Barraud to the site, an attempt was made to argue that the "peak range" of occupation was 1790-1800, and that, "This supports the assumption that the trash pit was

filled in during the time of Dr. Barraud's occupation of the property" (Gordon 1988:15). The illustration of the "peak range" was shown by a bracketing of the obvious clustering of the wares datable to 1790-1800 as indicated on the table titled, "Peak Range" (see table with erroneous and recalculated peak ranges). Noticeably absent from the discussion of the results of the application of the mean ceramic date to the this ceramic assemblage, was any discussion of the error caused by the early mean date assigned to all of the Chinese porcelain, combined with the large amount of Chinese porcelain recovered from the Dr. Barraud site. The recalculated "peak range" table, with the inclusion of the date ranges for the porcelain as detailed in this thesis, shows the correct late eighteenth-century occupation by Dr. Barraud, with the majority of the ceramic types accurately clustering between 1780-1800, the general period of Dr. Barraud's residence at the property.

Table 1: Recalculated "peak range"

Initial peak range:
(Gordon 1988:30)

Recalculated "peak range":

Peak Range

1700 - 0
1710 - 0
1720 - 0
1730 - 71
1740 - 0
1750 - 0
1760 - 4
1770 - 0
1780 - 2
1790 - 75
1800 - 31
1810 - 2

Peak Range

1700 - 0
1710 - 0
1720 - 0
1730 - 0
1740 - 3
1750 - 0
1760 - 4
1770 - 0
1780 - 35
1790 - 89
1800 - 31
1810 - 2

1820 - 0
1830 - 3

1820 - 0
1830 - 3

When Stanley South first published his explanation of the mean ceramic date formula in the 1970's, he was well aware that inclusion of Chinese porcelain in the calculation of the mean ceramic date for an archaeological context, would throw off the accuracy of the results. On this subject South writes,

"Note: Before proceeding to use the formula the reader should also read my later paper in this forum in which it is recommended that Types 26 and 39, Chinese Porcelain, not be included. By eliminating these types from use in the formula a more accurate mean ceramic date is obtained" (South 1978:75).

Re-Analysis of the Dr. Barraud Chinese Export Porcelain, and a Re-Calculation of the Mean Ceramic Date Using the Date Ranges for Motifs Discussed in this Thesis:

In February, 1995 I performed a re-analysis of the Chinese porcelain from the fall, 1987 Department of Archaeology, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation excavations of the Dr. Barraud site. A total of 73 sherds of Chinese wares were counted; 7 from the "spoil from backdirt screening in trash pit area", 63 from the four layers within Trash pit "A", and 3 sherds from the , "postmold, east of the smokehouse, 106-10F". The 73 Chinese export sherds, photographed by the author in 1992, were analyzed for the motifs as described, documented, and dated in this thesis. A total of 23 of the 73 sherds of Chinese porcelain were not included in the re-calculation of the mean ceramic date because they were either unidentifiable as to motif, or they

were plain white and absent of any decoration at all. Upon conclusion of the identification of the Dr. Barraud Chinese export sherds, totals of each type of motif observed, were calculated and a re-calculation of the mean ceramic date for the Dr. Barraud ceramic assemblage was performed.

Table 2: Identification of the Chinese porcelain from the Dr. Barraud assemblage

Chinese export porcelain, Underglaze blue:

Motif	Date range	Mean date	#sherds
Nanking/Fitzhugh:			
-butterfly, scroll and diaper	(1764-1800)	1782	27
- " " w/scales	(1785-1800)	1792	8
-shaded trellis w/spearheads	(1765-1820)	1792	2
Blue trellis	(1690-1790)	1740	2
Blue spearhead	(1735-1770)	1752	1
			<u>40</u>

Chinese export porcelain, Overglaze enamelled:

Motif	Date range	Mean date	#sherds
husk chain	(1780-1810)	1795	1
wavy band	(1780-1790)	1785	2
dogtooth	(1765-1795)	1780	4
half-circle and dot	(1780-1800)	1790	3
			<u>10</u>

The 50 sherds of Chinese porcelain as mentioned in the table above were used in the re-calculation of the mean ceramic date. A total of nine distinct and datable motifs discussed in this thesis, including all three variants of the Nanking rim pattern, and sherds decorated in underglaze blue and overglaze enamels were identified among the 50 Chinese porcelain sherds from the Dr. Barraud assemblage. Using the

newly calculated mean dates for the motifs as documented and explained in this thesis, combined with the frequency occurrence of each motif in the calculation, a revised mean ceramic date of 1789.1017 was arrived at. The previously calculated mean ceramic date of 1770, arrived at through inclusion of Chinese porcelain assigned a date range of 1660-1800, and a median date of 1730, was well before the documented date of 1782 when Dr. Barraud first arrived on the property. The re-calculated mean ceramic date of 1789.1017 fits soundly within the 1782-1793 period of Dr. Barraud's documented occupation of the site, reaffirming the accuracy of the dates of manufacture arrived at for the styles of Chinese porcelain included in this thesis as well the continued need to further date, document and illustrate other commonly found eighteenth-century Chinese decorative motifs.

Often archaeologists presume that inclusion of the Chinese porcelain into the ceramic assemblage analysis with the calculation of a mean ceramic date, will give an erroneously early mean ceramic date because Chinese porcelains are presumed to be either heirloom pieces displayed for decades in a cupboard, or used less frequently than standard refined earthenwares such as Creamware and Pearlware, causing less breakage and consequently less discard. While there is certainly some merit to this belief, particularly during the seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries when Chinese porcelains were more

costly in Virginia, and thus used for fine tea drinking, socializing and for formal dinners, by the late eighteenth-century Chinese porcelains of one quality or another were apt to be found in a majority of the households of the colonial capital, Williamsburg, Virginia. The increased availability and prevalence of Chinese wares among the possessions of the residents of Williamsburg in the second half of the eighteenth-century (Austin 1994: 27), combined with their reduced cost, increased their use as "ordinary" tea and tablewares. Such was probably the case with Dr. Barraud as with a few exceptions, all of the Chinese porcelain in the Dr. Barraud assemblage dated to the last quarter of the eighteenth-century and was certainly contemporary, and of the latest style during his period of occupation at the site. Thus, as is evidenced by the re-calculation of the mean ceramic date for the Dr. Barraud ceramic assemblage, inclusion of the Chinese porcelain in the calculation of a mean ceramic date does not necessarily skew the results, and give an erroneously early mean ceramic date.

Not only does this test of the re-calculation of the mean ceramic date of the Dr. Barraud ceramic assemblage indicate the need for continued refinements in date ranges assigned to ceramic types used in the calculation of a mean ceramic date, this test further confirms the accuracy of the date ranges assigned to the motifs on the Chinese porcelain discussed in this study. Instead of their inclusion in the

calculation of the mean ceramic date injecting a significant error, a more accurate date can be arrived at through their inclusion in the calculation. The inclusion of the Chinese porcelain in the calculation using the dates described in this thesis, illustrates that the incorporation of Chinese porcelain into the calculation of the mean ceramic date can be beneficial, further refining the mean ceramic date. The ability to include the Chinese porcelain as part of the ceramic assemblage in the calculation of the mean ceramic date, helps to create a larger sample, or number of sherds. Theoretically, it is known that a larger sample has the potential for yielding a more accurate mean ceramic date. Thus the inclusion of a larger number and variety of known ceramic manufacture dates, lessens any error in each specific manufacture date, and also increases the likelihood of a more accurate and reliable mean ceramic date, as was the case with the Dr. Barraud trash pit.

CHAPTER V

Conclusions About the Analysis, the Value of Chinese Export Porcelain in Historical Archaeology and Suggestions for Further Research.

The refinement of artifact chronologies, and thus the ability to place in an historical context, specific artifacts and artifactual assemblages, has long been considered as a key precursor to the evaluation of past lifeways and the understanding of culture process. Many studies by historical archaeologists have sought to ameliorate this problem by further refining both the dating, as well as the classification of ceramics commonly found on archaeological sites of the historic period (Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Shlasko 1989; Miller 1989; Seidel 1990; Miller and Hunter 1990). Material culture scholar and ceramicist George L. Miller, speaks of the need for the further refinement of ceramic chronologies by saying that, "These chronologies (devised by Ivor Noel Hume in 1969), are sorely in need of refinement" (Miller 1991:2). This thesis is an attempt to address the importance and impact of the Chinese export trade in Anglo-America and the impact of Chinese wares on eighteenth-century Anglo-American life, as well as to detail specific commonly archaeologically found decorative styles and motifs on eighteenth-century Chinese wares.

While this study is far from the definitive source of easily identifiable, datable styles of eighteenth-century Chinese wares, in addition to documenting, detailing and illustrating several of the most common archaeologically encountered styles and motifs, it serves as an example that the discipline of historical archaeology has much to gain through the continued study of Chinese export wares.

Chinese porcelain remains one of the most significant, yet least understood ceramic waretypes commonly found on eighteenth-century archaeological sites in Tidewater Virginia. Only when, and if historical archaeologists avail themselves of the massive amount of literature concerning the manufacture, dating, trade, and sale of Chinese wares, will the interpretive value of this ceramic type be fully appreciated. The vast ceramic literature, the numerous ceramicists who are experts on eighteenth-century Chinese wares, as well as the increasing amount of detailed information on eighteenth-century shipwrecks, and their porcelain cargos all are invaluable resources available to historical archaeologists.

This study has been an attempt to begin the evaluation, identification and documentation of the importance of dating eighteenth-century Chinese wares. Chronological refinement is one of the cornerstones of all archaeological evaluations of past lifeways and culture process. The inability to accurately, and quickly assign a date to a specific artifact severely limits the ability for the archaeologist to

identify particular archaeological artifacts with known historical personages. Only once the artifact is placed in its historical chronological context, can it be evaluated as the product of a specific time period and studied in the historical and cultural context in which it was purchased, used, broken and discarded.

Only if there are further attempts, such as the current study, to refine chronologies for poorly understood ceramic waretypes such as Chinese porcelain which have a very long period of manufacture during the colonial period can we refine, and make increasingly accurate and useful Stanley South's *mean ceramic date* formula. Stanley South himself says that a more accurate mean ceramic date can be arrived at if the Chinese porcelain data are ignored. We have seen the problem with the inclusion of Chinese porcelain in the calculation of the *mean ceramic date* for the Dr. Barraud site. The re-calculation of the mean ceramic date for the Dr. Barraud site ceramic assemblage, with the inclusion of the date ranges for the Chinese porcelain as detailed in this study, has documented the usefulness and validity of continued efforts toward refining date ranges for Chinese porcelain. Once the date ranges as explained in this study were used in place of the standard 1660-1800 date range, the *mean ceramic date* for the Dr. Barraud assemblage changed from 1770, some twelve years prior to the first documented occupation by Dr. Barraud of the property to 1789.1616,

right in the middle to the late eighteenth-century period of occupation by Dr. Barraud (1782-1793).

Further identification of datable eighteenth-century decorative motifs on Chinese porcelain has the potential to increase the ability of the archaeologist to identify, document and incorporate a larger number of Chinese porcelain sherds into the calculation of the mean ceramic date. The dating of an archaeological site to a specific period in history, must be accomplished through a careful study of the documentary and archaeological records.

The archaeological artifact assemblage can only be identified with a particular time period by a careful identification and dating of the artifacts found on the site. An increased knowledge of the datable aspects of Chinese wares has the potential to date the ceramic assemblage in question, thus allowing the archaeologist to tie specific historical personages to the material record they left behind. Without such chronological information, artifacts such as Chinese porcelain remain largely mute, a silent and misunderstood relic of the past. Only if, and when continued attempts are made towards refining a chronology of Chinese porcelain of the colonial period can a more accurate *mean ceramic date* be arrived at.

No other ceramic waretype of the eighteenth-century impacted colonial American lifeways, customs, and social practices as significantly. The influence of the China trade and the demand for things Chinese influenced

eighteenth-century furniture making, as well as architecture in Boston, New York as well as in Williamsburg. The English pottery manufacturers of Staffordshire struggled throughout much of the eighteenth-century in an effort to discover the secrets of true porcelain manufacture and to invent, manufacture and market English ceramics inspired by the Chinese wares in an effort to capture a share of the porcelain market. As Ivor Noel Hume eloquently muses, "In spite of efforts by Dwight and others to manufacture porcelain, and by delftware potters to copy its shape and colors, there was no acceptable and reasonably priced substitute until well through the eighteenth century" (Noel Hume 1969:38). Tin-glazed earthenware, or delft, Ebers ware, White Salt-Glazed Stoneware, Astbury, Jackfield-type, Black Basalt and Pearlware all were greatly influenced by the exotic Chinese wares so in vogue during the eighteenth-century. The impact of Chinese porcelain on the English ceramic industry was immense. The hurried development of English wares, manufactured to compete with the ultrafashionable Chinese wares, fueled the development of the English potteries and their surrounding towns, a key aspect of the rise of the industrial revolution.

Ceramics are invaluable clues to the interpretation of past cultures, lifeways, and cultural processes. Ceramics are frequently used and broken, they are not recycled, and once deposited in the ground are not greatly affected by the soil environment. They are the voice of a past culture, our

window on a previous age, and sherds of Chinese wares are the only commonly found artifact which can offer insights into the worldwide trade between the European East India Companies and China during the eighteenth-century. Thus, as ceramic scholar George L. Miller has written, "...they (ceramics) are the only fashion-sensitive commodity that spans the transition from craft to industrial production for which a sample representative of both the product line and actual consumer choice can be recovered...their study can address, in a way that no other manufactured artifact can, some of the most significant historical issues now being debated by scholars of American material life --- issues surrounding the rise of industrial capitalism and its impact on the social relations of early America" (Miller 1991:1). Arguably, no other ceramic waretype besides Chinese porcelain can offer greater insights and information regarding worldwide trade, the rise and development of the English ceramic industry, the rise of industrial capitalism, the rise of consumerism and social emulation and social customs during the eighteenth-century.

The analysis, description, and documentation of the *famille verte* and *rose* color palettes, the Imari style and the other datable decorative patterns and motifs common to eighteenth-century Chinese wares reveals conclusively, that far from a static and unchanging waretype, the Chinese wares of the eighteenth-century changed with the unpredictable modes of fashion. An example is the *famille verte* color

palette of the 1720's giving way to the dynamic and colorful *famille rose* palette of the 1730's. The data contained in tables 3 and 4 graphically illustrates that the decorative motifs and color palettes of eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain were not static but, like other fashion sensitive commodities, rose in popularity as well as declined in true seriatinal style.

Decisions based on economics and profitability caused the European East India companies to gradually limit both the variety of vessel forms and decorative patterns such that, by 1774, there were just two requested overglaze enamelled design patterns for over one hundred thousand vessels and just four underglaze blue patterns for an even larger number of vessels (Howard 1994:11). Such a reduction in decorative patterns is readily noticeable on the Chinese porcelains recovered from the 1817 shipwreck of the English ship, the *Diana* (Christie's 1995). The Chinese merchants in Canton responded to the requests and orders of the Europeans, producing both vessel shapes and decorative motifs which sold well in Europe and which were consequently requested by the East India Companies. Fashion and consumer demand and marketability influence the Chinese motifs used, and the vessel shapes promoting an intriguing blend of Occidental and Oriental influences. Indeed, so great was the demand for Chinese wares during the eighteenth-century that even with the proven success of Josiah Wedgwood's Pearl White after 1779, the British were sending blue shelledged

Pearlware platters, which were faithfully copied by the Chinese potters of Jingdezhen during the 1790-1800 period (Godden 1979:155). This example not only illustrates the unique melding of Oriental and Occidental styles, but indicates the continued and lasting appeal of Chinese wares throughout the eighteenth-century. Further inquiry into this cross-cultural exchange within the framework of eighteenth-century world trade would be a fascinating venture and would offer significant information concerning both worldwide trade in the eighteenth-century, as well as further insights into the changing motifs and diversity of vessels forms of eighteenth-century Chinese wares.

The literature on shipwrecks of eighteenth-century East Indiamen is slowly increasing, offering unique and invaluable "time capsules" of period wares of the Chinese export trade. Researchers, and government sponsored salvage companies are continually searching for wrecks of East India Company vessels. In January 1995, Christie's auction house in London published a catalogue of the Chinese wares from the 1817 wreck of the English vessel, the *Diana* which sank on a rock in the strait of Malacca, on its way to Madras in India. The well documented porcelain from the cargo of the *Diana*, like the published pictures of the porcelain from the wrecks of the *Witte Leeuw* 1613; the *Hatcher junk* of 1644; the *Vung Tao* cargo, 1695; the *Goteborg*, 1745; the *Geldermalsen*, 1752; the *Machault*; the *Griffin*, 1761; and the *Middleburg*, 1781, all offer invaluable tightly dated

Table 3: Shipwreck dates

Motifs/Color Palettes

	1695	1738	1743	1745	1746	1752	1760	1761	1781	1817
Famille Verte										
Blue Trellis	X1	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
Famille Rose				X2	X2		X	X		
Imari		X3		X	X3	X		X		
An Hua				X		X		X		
Grape-and-Bamboo							X			
Blue Spearhead		X	X	X		X				
Fish Roe								X		
Butterfly, Sc. & Diaper										
Butterfly, Sc. & Diaper (with scales)										X4
Shaded Trellis										X
Dogtooth										
Navy Band										
Husk Chain										
Half-Circle and Dot										
Blue Band with Stars										
Canton										X

Shipwrecks

1695	Vung Tao
1738	Sussex
1743	Hollandia
1745	Goteborg
1746	Prince de Conty
1752	Geldermalsen
1760	Marchault
1761	Griffin
1781	Middleburg
1817	Diana

X Presence of this motif/color palette in cargo of shipwreck
X1 Early blue trellis variant, not exactly true blue trellis
X2 (blue and white enameled) likely to be Imari motif
X3 (white enameled) likely to be Famille Rose
X4 Only one example of this type recovered

Table 4: Number of English Armorial services per decade]
(Data compiled from Howard, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, 1974)

	1700-1709	1710-1719	1720-1729	1730-1739	1740-1749	1750-1759	1760-1769	1770-1779	1780-1789	1790-1799	1800-1809
<u>Motifs/Palettes</u>											
Famille Verte	1	10	2								13
Imari	1	10	14	1							26
Blue Trellis		2	16	7		6	4	9	1	5	50
Famille Rose			16	25	57	51	46	61	44	5	305
An Hua2											0
Grape-and-Bamboo3				23	13	5	1				42
Blue Spearhead				3		1	1	4			9
Fish Roe						1					1
Butterfly, Sc. & Diaper								8	38	2	48
Butterfly, Sc. & Diaper (with scales)										1	2
Dogtooth							1	1	7		9
Shaded Trellis									19	63	10
Wavy Band									19	4	23
Husk Chain									10	3	13
Blue Band with Stars									1	44	10
Half-Circle and Dot										7	3
Canton2											0
Total # Services	2	22	48	59	70	64	53	83	139	134	25
											699

1)Armorial: The practice of ordering armorial porcelain services did not occur until about 1700, therefore there are no seventeenth-century examples represented here.

2)Noticeably absent from armorial services are both *An Hua* and *Canton*.

3)Grape-and-Bamboo: There were no true grape-and-bamboo armorial services, but a similar, concurrently used grape-and-vine motif is charted here.

groupings of Chinese wares destined to be sold in South-East Asia or Europe, and are invaluable time capsule resources which historical archaeologists must study.

Some 200-220 Honorable East India Company vessels, accounting for approximately 4 1/2% of the total English ventures (Farrington 1990:14), and approximately 246 V.O.C. vessels were lost around the world during the period of operation of the East India Companies (Larn 1990:13). Although a minority of these losses were East Indiamen on their return voyages to Europe, laden with goods of the China trade, there will undoubtedly be continued archaeological excavation of these vessels as they are discovered, and publication of photographs of the porcelain cargos, further increasing the wealth of knowledge concerning the Chinese export trade and colonial period Chinese wares.

Historical archaeologists interested in further refining dates for Chinese wares are confronted by many unknowns, a lack of specific primary documentation regarding the development of decorative motifs on eighteenth-century wares, and thousands of decorative motifs, many eighteenth-century versions of motifs used hundreds of years before. A detailed study of the fragmentary records of the Honorable East India Company in London, would offer insights into the requirements and orders which the Company placed during the eighteenth-century, revealing significant information regarding when certain color palettes, and vessel forms were

first ordered, as well as the number of vessels ordered. More research in the Company's auctions of Chinese wares in London and their re-export to Virginia needs to be attempted. Studies of the retail sale of ceramics including Chinese wares have revealed much about consumer choices, retail store inventories, cost and descriptions of the variety of Chinese wares available to Virginians in the eighteenth-century (Martin 1988, 1995; Miller et al 1989). More research of this kind, specifically focused on eighteenth-century Chinese wares can offer further insights into the social and cultural impact of Chinese wares in colonial Anglo-America, as well as shed light on the types, and qualities of Chinese wares re-exported from London to Virginia. The importation of Chinese wares influenced notions of gentility, social tea drinking and dining, fueled consumerism and emulation among the 'middling sort' in the Chesapeake, and led the way in fashion and good taste. Further study of Chinese wares in eighteenth-century Virginia, has the potential to reveal much concerning the social milieu of the period.

The dating of eighteenth-century Chinese wares requires some knowledge in a wide variety of areas, including the history of Chinese painting styles, a knowledge of porcelain from tightly dated archaeological assemblages, knowledge of the forms of eighteenth-century silver vessels, knowledge of eighteenth-century commemorative engravings, knowledge of the motifs and vessel shapes of European porcelain, and a

knowledge of datable examples of Chinese armorial porcelains. As Mr. Howard has commented about dating vessels of Chinese porcelain, "He has to bring into play as wide a range of facts as he can --- stored over a lifetime of experience --- and using these as a noose, he draws it tightly round the query until he can pronounce on something he may never have seen before" (Howard 1991:19). Historical archaeologists interested in further refining chronologies of Chinese wares should attempt to educate themselves to bring as many lines of evidence together to "tighten the noose" on the date ranges for the Chinese wares.

None of the date ranges as discussed and documented in this thesis are absolute. They are the best date ranges available today, developed through the combined assessment of known tightly dated armorial vessels, dated porcelain cargoes from eighteenth-century European East India Company shipwrecks, first hand eighteenth-century European accounts of the porcelain manufacture process and the lists of requirements and orders placed by the European East India Companies during the eighteenth-century. Undoubtedly, as we learn more, as more eighteenth-century East Indiamen are excavated, and the porcelain cargoes photographed and published it will become necessary to alter the date ranges as discussed in this thesis. Increased knowledge will lead to the increased refinement of a chronology for eighteenth-century Chinese wares. Efforts to study the decorative motifs, vessel forms, manufacture and sale of Chinese wares

in Canton, London and Williamsburg should and must be a priority of historical archaeologists.

No other ceramic waretype so influenced the eighteenth-century social interaction, the ceramic industry of Staffordshire and thus the development of an important aspect of the industrial revolution, and the world wide export trade. No other ceramic waretype commonly found on eighteenth-century archaeology sites in Tidewater Virginia so influenced the consumer revolution, social emulation, gentility and social interaction via the tea ceremony. No other ceramic waretype is less understood while having more to offer the elucidation of our eighteenth-century Anglo-American cultural heritage.

Appendix A:

Shipwrecks:

A listing of datable shipwrecks known to have carried a cargo of Chinese porcelain when the vessel sank. The shipwrecks are listed chronologically and include citations for relevant sources for more detailed information. This appendix was compiled using information contained in *Chinese Export Porcelain in North America* by Jean Mc Clure Mudge, 1986.

1595: **San Agustin.** Spanish. Sank on Limantour Spit, Drake's Bay, Point Reyes Peninsula, California. The wreck of Sebastien Rodriguez Cermeno's vessel. 158 underglaze blue Wanli, Fukien provincial, "Swatow" and lesser carrack, most surfaces abraded. Documented in "The Drake Puzzle Solved", *Pacific Discovery*, Volume 37, Number 3 (July-September 1984): 22-26, by Edward P. Von der Porten.

1609: **Mauritius.** Dutch. Sank off Cap Lopez, Gulf of Guinea. Wan-li period (1573-1619) Ming underglaze blue and white Chinese porcelain, representing 215 different vessels. Documented in "The wreck of an 'experimental' ship of the 'Oost-Indische Compagnie': the *Mauritius*", by M. L'Hour, L. Long and E. Rieth, published in NAS Volume 19, number 1 (1990):63-74, and *Le Mauritius: Du naufrage a la fouille d'un vaisseau de la Compagnie des Indes*, by M. L'Hour, Luc Long, and E. Rieth, published in 1957 by Casterman, Paris, France.

1613: **Witte Leeuw.** Dutch. Sank in James Bay, St. Helena. Wanli, late Ming dynasty whole vessels: bowls, dishes, wine cups, pitchers, jars, drinking pots. Documented in "The Sunken Treasure of St. Helena" by Robert Stenuit. *National Geographic* 154, October 1978, pp.562-576, and *Archaeology Under Water*, edited by Keith Muckelroy published in 1980 by McGraw-Hill New York, New York.

1622: **Nuestra Senora de Atocha.** Spanish. Sank off the Florida coast. The wreck was discovered by treasure hunter Mel Fisher in 1985. The Fisher team is still recovering artifacts from the site periodically. Undocumented.

1641: **Concepcion.** Spanish. Sank in the Abrojos of the Florida Straits. 1 underglaze blue cup, dish and miscellaneous porcelain sherds recovered. Undocumented.

c.1645: The Hatcher Junk. Chinese in Dutch employ. Sank in the South China Sea, 19.7 miles off of Singapore. 60,000-70,000 vessels of which 30,000 were recovered. Underglaze blue kraak and Transitional wares, also green, white, blue and yellow wares. Documented in *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes*, by Colin Sheaf and Richard Kilburn, 1988, published by Phaidon, Christie's Limited, London, England.

1647: **Sacramento.** Portuguese. Sank off of Port Elizabeth, Cape Province, Republic of South Africa. Ming underglaze blue wares. Documented in, *Archaeology Under Water*, edited by Keith Muckelroy published in 1980 by McGraw-Hill New York, New York.

1656: **Nuestra Senora de la Maravellas.** Spanish. Sank on the Little Bahama Bank. Underglaze blue decorated wares. The Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses 4 sherds of underglaze blue from this shipwreck. Undocumented.

1668: **Sacramentos**. Portuguese. Sank in the Bay of All Saints, Bahia, Brazil. Early Kangxi wares: 2 sherds of underglaze blue, 1 overglaze polychrome painted sherd from a drug jar (*albarello*). Documented in, "The Ship Wreck of the Galleon Sacramento---1668 off Brazil", by Ulysses P. De Mello, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* [IJNA] 8 (1979), pp. 211-213.

1692: An earthquake created a tidal wave which wrecked several Manila galleons in Port Royal, Jamaica. Miscellaneous porcelain sherds, and an Dehua figurine of Guanyin with child, photographed in *Chinese Export Porcelain in North America* by Jean Mc Clure Mudge, 1986, Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., New York, New York. Documented in, *The Treasure Fleets of the Spanish Main*, by Robert F. Marx, 1968, World, Cleveland, and *Shipwrecks of the Western Hemisphere*, 1971, World, New York, New York, and in "Exploring the Drowned City of Port Royal", by Marion Clayton Link, *National Geographic* 117, February 1960, pp. 151-183.

1690-1700: The Vung Tau Cargo. Chinese. Sank off of Con Dao Island, 100 nautical miles south of Vung Tao, Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Thousands of Kangxi period underglaze blue and white wares, provincial wares. Documented in the Christie's catalog, *The Vung Tao Cargo: Chinese Export Porcelain*, auctioned in Amsterdam April 7th, 1992.

1697: **Santo Antonio de Tanna**. Portuguese. Sank off of Fort Jesus, Mombasa, Kenya. Large polychrome enameled shallow bowls, 1 high quality bowl with six-character mark of Chenghua, other shallow bowls, small plates and small bowls. Documented in, "Portuguese Ship Sunk Off Ft. Jesus", 1697, IJNA 7 (1978): 303-305 by R.C.M. Piercy, and "A Portuguese Wreck Off Mombasa, Kenya", IJNA 1 (1972): 153-157 by J.S. Kirkman, and "Chinese Porcelain Marks from Kenya", *British Archaeological Reports International Series* (supplementary) 43 (1978), by Caroline Sassoon.

1715: "Plate Fleet". Spanish. Sank east of Cape Canaveral, near Sebastian Inlet, Florida. 28 complete Kangxi period underglaze blue and white cups, *sang de boeuf*, 1 "China aster" intact bowl. Documented in "Downed Galleons Yield Spanish Gold", *National Geographic* 127 (January, 1965):1-37, by Kip Wagner.

1724: **Guadalupe y Tolosa**. Spanish. Sank in Samana Bay, Dominican Republic. "Unspecified ceramics". Documented in "Graveyard of the Quicksilver Galleons", *National Geographic* 156, no.6 (December, 1979):850-876, by Mendel Peterson.

1724: **Slot ter Hooge**. Dutch. Sank in Porto Santo, now named Port do Guilherme, Madiera Islands. Unspecified fragments of a Chinese porcelain plated. Documented in "The Treasure of Porto Santo", *National Geographic* 148 (August, 1975):260-275, by Robert Stenuit, and *Archaeology Under Water*, edited by Keith Muckelroy, published in 1980 by McGraw Hill, New York, New York.

1727: **Zeewijk**. Dutch. Sank off of Western Australia. Unspecified Chinese porcelain sherds. Documented in *Archaeology Under Water*, edited by Keith Muckelroy, published in 1980 by McGraw Hill, New York, New York.

1730-1760: "Civic Center Ship". Dutch. Sank off of Cape Town, Republic of South Africa. Unspecified fragments of three Guangdong bowls. Documented in, "An Eighteenth-Century Dutch East Indiaman at Cape Town, 1971", *IJNA* 5 (1976): 305-316 by Robert A. Lightly.

1733: **San Jose y las Animas**. Spanish. Sank in the Straits of Florida. 362 fragments of Chinese porcelain including underglaze blue and white, polychrome enameled plates, cups, case bottles and bowls, silver overglaze enameled fragments. Documented in, "Rare Oriental Porcelain Recovered from 1733 Shipwreck", *Archives and History News* 3, no. 5 (September-October 1972):1, by Allen R. Saltus.

1737: Unnamed vessel. Portuguese. Sank returning from Goa. Underglaze blue and white wares, Chinese figurines, overglaze enameled wares. Undocumented.

1738: **Sussex**. English. Sank off of Bassas de India in the Indian Ocean. Several thousands of sherds of underglaze blue and white Chinese porcelain, including the grape-and-bamboo motif. Documented in, "The Discovery of an English East Indiaman at Bassas da India, a French atoll in the Indian Ocean: The *Sussex* (1738)", *NAS Volume* 19, number 1 (1990):81-85.

1740: **Svecia**. Swedish. Sank off of Orkney Island, off North Ronaldsey, England. Unspecified Yongzheng underglaze blue and white sherds. Documented in *Archaeology Under Water*, edited by Keith Muckelroy, published in 1980 by McGraw Hill, New York, New York.

1743: **Hollandia**. Dutch. Sank off of the Isles of Scilly, off Cornwall. Unspecified Chinese porcelain sherds. Documented in *Archaeology Under Water*, edited by Keith Muckelroy, published in 1980 by McGraw Hill, New York, New York, and *Hollandia Compendium: A Contribution to the History, Archaeology, Classification and Lexicography of a 150 fr. Dutch East Indiaman (1740-1750)* by Jerzy Gawronski, Bas Kist, and Odila Stokvis-Van Boetzelaer, published in 1992 by Elsevier Science Publishing Company, New York, New York..

1745: **Goteborg**. Swedish. Sank in Gothenburg Harbor, Sweden. Thousands of underglaze blue and white Chinese porcelain sherds including wares decorated with the *grape-and-bamboo* motif. Documented in *Porcelain from the East Indiaman Gotheborg*, by Berit Wastfelt, Bo Gyllensvard and Jorgen Weibull, published in 1992 by Brabocker Wiken of Hoganas, Sweden.

1746: **Prince de Conty**. French. Sank off of Belle-Ile Island, Brittany, France. Thousands of underglaze blue and white, overglaze enamelled, and gilded Chinese porcelain sherds. Documented in, "Le voyage inacheve du Prince de Conty (1746)", by M. L'Hour and F. Richez, published in *Neptunia*, number 173 (March 1989):27-33, Musee de la Marine, Paris, France and "An 18th-Century French East Indiaman: the Prince de Conty (1746)", by M. L'Hour and F. Richez, *NAS Volume 19*, number 1 (1990):75-80.

1747-1755: The Ronson ship. English (Built in Virginia). Abandoned as fill in Manhattan, New York. Many varied sherds of Chinese porcelain. Documented in *The Ronson Ship: The Study of an Eighteenth Century Merchantman Excavated in Manhattan, New York in 1982*, by Warren C. Reiss (1982), an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of New Hampshire, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and *The Application of the Automated National Cataloging System for Archaeological Cataloging*, by Linda Novak Vrooman (1994), an unpublished M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

1751: **Geldermalsen**. Dutch. Sank in the South China Sea. Over 100,000 complete underglaze blue and white, Chinese Imari, Batavia, and overglaze enamelled vessels. Documented in *The Geldermalsen: History and Porcelain*, by C.J.A. Jorg, published in 1986 by Kemper, Groningen, Netherlands, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes*, by Colin Sheaf and Richard Kilburn, published in 1988 by Phiadon, Christie's Limited of London, and the 1986 Christie's auction catalog, *The Nanking Cargo: Chinese Export Porcelain and Gold*.

1760: **Le Marchault.** French. Sank off of the Gaspe Peninsula, Quebec, Canada. Many underglaze blue and white, and famille rose overglaze enameled sherds. Documented in *Legacy of the Marchault: A Collection of 18th-Century Artifacts*, by Catherine Sullivan, published in 1986 by Parks Canada.

1761: **Griffin.** English. Sank off the Philippines. Thousands of underglaze blue and white vessels including the *fish roe* pattern. Documented in *Diving for the Griffin*, by Charles Daggett and Christopher Shaffer, published in 1990 by George Weidenfeld & Nicholson Ltd., London, England, and "The Griffin, an English East Indiaman lost in the Philippines in 1761", by Charles Daggett, Evelyne Jay and Frederic Osada, published in NAS Volume 19, number 1 (1990):35-42, and *18th Century Relics of the Griffin Shipwreck*, by Franck Goddio and Evelyne Jay, published in 1988 by World Wide First, and "Un Navire de la Compagnie Anglaise des Indes Orientales Le Griffin (1761)", by Franck Goddio and Evelyne Jay, published in *Neptunia*, number 173 (March 1989):44-51, Musee de la Marine, Paris, France.

1762: **Santissima Trinidad.** Spanish. Sank three weeks out of Manila, Philippines bound for Acapulco, Mexico. Unspecified Chinese porcelain sherds. Undocumented.

1763: **Jonge Thomas.** Dutch. Sank in Table Bay, off Cape Town, Republic of South Africa. Unspecified underglaze blue and white Chinese porcelain sherds, some in the collections of the British Museum, London, England. Documented in *Chinese Export Porcelain*, by J.A Lloyd Hyde, published in 1954 by Ceramic Book, Newport, England.

1775: **Royal Savage.** English. Sank in the Richelieu River, Fort St. Jean, Canada. Unspecified Chinese porcelain sherds dating to 1770-1830, most dating to 1800-1825, probably not from the ship, but from a "dumpsite". The ship was raised by the Americans in 1776 and renamed USS *Yankee*. Documented in "Canada: Quebec Province: Ft. St. Jean Project", by Marc A. Theoret, published in *IJNA* 5 (1976):348-353.

1776: **Niew Rhoon.** Dutch. Sank off of Cape Town, Republic of South Africa. Guangdong bowls. Documented in *Archaeology Under Water*, edited by Keith Muckelroy, published in 1980 by McGraw Hill, New York, New York.

1778: **HMS Orpheus**. English. Sank in Narragansett Bay off Portsmouth, Rhode Island. Several sherds from Chinese underglaze blue and white porcelain plates and saucers. Documented in *Unearthing New England's Past: the Ceramic Evidence*, edited by Susan Montgomery, published in 1984 by the Museum of our Natural Heritage, Lexington, Massachusetts.

1779: **Valentine**. English. Sank in the Channel Islands, off France. Unspecified Chinese porcelain sherds. Documented in *Archaeology Under Water*, edited by Keith Muckelroy, published in 1980 by McGraw Hill, New York, New York.

1781: "Cornwallis Cave Wreck". Country of origin unknown. Sank off of Yorktown, Virginia. Unspecified Chinese Porcelain sherds. Documented in "The Cornwallis Cave Shipwreck, Yorktown, Virginia" *IJNA* 6 (1978): 205-226 by Paul F. Johnson.

1781: **Middleburg**. Dutch. Sank in Saldanha Bay, Republic of South Africa. Dutch East Indiaman laden with thousands of vessels of underglaze blue and white Chinese porcelain. Documented in *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, by C.J.A. Jorg, published in 1982 by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, Netherlands.

1810-1811, or 1816-1820: "Point Cloates Wreck" (unnamed vessel, likely one of two ships). American. Sank off of Western Australia. Underglaze blue and white Chinese porcelain sherds. Documented in "Indiamen Traders of the East", *Archaeology* Volume 33, Number 6 (November-December 1980): 18-25, by Graeme Henderson.

1817: **Diana**. English. Sank in the Straits of Malacca. 24,000 underglaze blue and white ands overglaze enamelled Chinese porcelain vessels. Documented in, *The Diana Cargo*, by Christie's Amsterdam, published in 1995 by Christie's Amsterdam, B.V.

1850: **Frolic**. American. Sank off Point Cabrillo, California. Quantity of "rough" underglaze blue and white Chinese porcelain (provincial wares) and "heavy" stoneware. Documented in the *Daily Alta California*, August 5th, 1850; *A Comparative Study of Mid-Nineteenth Century Chinese Blue-and-White Export Ceramics from the Frolic Shipwreck, Mendocino County, California* by Patricia Hagen Jones (1992), a M.A. thesis published by Asian American Comparative Collection, Moscow, Idaho; *The San Mateo County Times*, March 11-12, 1995, page A9.

Appendix B:

English East India Company orders:

The following are four pages from the list of *Orders and Instructions* of the English East India Company directors to the supercargoes of the 1712 voyage of the *Loyal Bliss*. This list illustrates the detail specificity, and variety of the English East India Company's orders for China trade items and porcelain wares during the eighteenth-century.

*Orders & Instructions given by the
Court of Directors of the United Company of -
Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies
To Messrs Edward Henricke John Child & Peter
Godfrey Junr of London & Merchants Supra Cargo
of the Ship Loyall Blife bound for Canton in China*

- 1 We the Court of Directors of the said United Company reposing
speciall trust and Confidence in your Ability and Integrity have Chosen
you Mr Edward Henricke to be Chief you Mr John Child to be Second and
you Mr Peter Godfrey Junr to be Third Supra Cargo for the disposall of a Cargo
by the ship Loyall Blife Commanded by Capt Robert Hudson at Canton
aforesaid and purchasing therewith a Lading proper for England and -
accordingly we have Laden on board the said Ship Loyall Blife and
consigned to you the said Cargo amounting to thirty four thousand
three hundred twenty two Dozens of Wool shillings as by the enclosed Invoice
and Bill of Lading And we do expect from you that you duly observe
the following Instructions Viz
- 2 By all opportunities during the Voyage out and home give us
an Account of your proceedings and where you then are Directing your
Letters to the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the
East Indies in London and we hereby order that the second & third
Supra Cargo do within one Month after you gett to sea outwards bound
take each a copy of these Instructions and that at their return they -
deliver in to the Secretary the said Copy with the times when written.
- 3 We exhort you to a sober and orderly behaviour and to demean your
selves with love and kindness towards one another during the whole -
Voyage out and home avoiding all occasions of dissention or difference
by which and your care and diligence you will further recommend your
selves to our good Opinion We particularly forbid all manner of Gaming
for Money or goods

First as to your Voyage Outward

- 4 It is of great Importance to us that the Passage to China -
outward and from China homeward be saved and not so much as
hazarded The Alcemart and Loyall Blife in their last Voyages for

*List of Goods to be Provided at Canton by the
Supra Cargos of the Loyal Blisse*

- Tea. Behet to be all of the best procurable and none ordinary* *ounds*
Eighty Thousand Pounds } 80000
- Tea. Pecker & Cingou. Nine Thousand Six hundred Pounds.* 9600
If to be got very good, else bring the Laps & if but
ordinary buy none, and in such case make up the
Quantity in good Behet. &c.
- Tea. Single to be all very fresh and of the best sort procurable*
Eighty Thousand Pounds } 80000
Buy none that is Ordinary
- Tea. Bing if very good. Nine Thousand Six hundred Pounds.* 9600
To be sure buy none Ordinary rather to make up
the Quantity in good Single. &c.
- Tectenague To be of the best sort Ten to Fifteen Tons* 10 to 15^{Tons}
- China ware of the several sorts under mentioned Viz^t*
- 11th 1 *Flat Dishes to be seven in a Nest some plain and some guild*
of various Patterns but all Blue and the smallest
of the Patterns to be the ^{least} size. Three hundred. Not Viz^t } 300. 100
of the Plain Two Hundred }
Little Dishes One Hundred }
- 2 *Beats Three in a Nest the Pattern to be the least but va-*
riety of Paints and stripes or running work in
stead of blue. Strips in the border with a pretty } 4000
deat of. Carlet. Four Thousand Viz^t Coloured }
Two Thousand & Dillo Blue Two Thousand }
- 3 *Canisters of this size but different paint Four Thousand Viz^t*
coloured Two Thousand & Dillo blue Two Thousand } 4000
- 4 *Handle Chocolatets upright of these two sorts Twenty Thousand*
Viz^t of the biggest blue and white of different Flou- } 20000
res Ten thousand. Dillo the smaller sort wth brown }
Edges Ten Thousand }
- 5 *Little in Colours and gold Ten thousand but with a*
border inside with gold Edges & variety of patterns } 20000
& Ten thousand of Dillo Laps sort }

670

- 6 Milk Potts the largest, coloured and gold Two Thousand and } 4000
Ditto blue and white Two Thousand..... }
- Ditto the second size Two thousand coloured & blue & white 2000
Ditto the third size Two thousand coloured & blue & white 2000
half of each with or without & the other half plain
- 7 Milk Potts the glass pattern One thousand coloured and } 2000
Ditto blue and white One thousand..... }
- Ditto of bigger size One Thousand Coloured and } 2000
Ditto blue and white One Thousand..... }
- half guild and half plain of different Patterns
- 8 Tea Potts Blue and white Two thousand..... 2000
Coloured Ditto Two thousand..... 2000
Ditto Lesser Sort of each One thousand..... 2000
- 9 Plates in colours and gold with much scarlet, gold } 10000
edge with variety of Patterns Ten Thousand..... }
- Dishes of the same work one size bigger than the } 1000
Plate One Thousand..... }
- one Ditto bigger than that One Thousand..... 1000
one Ditto bigger than that One Thousand..... 1000
one Ditto bigger than that One Thousand..... 1000
- 10 Plates and Dishes blue and white the same Quantity and
Sorts
- 11 Stopped Shells Six in a Set in colours variety of paints } 10000
and much scarlet, but with a small flat edge }
One Thousand sets..... }
- Ditto blue and white with variety of Paint &c.^a } 1000
One Thousand sets..... }
- 12 Cups in colours sorts to be painted after the Japan } 20000
pattern as these or such like Twenty Thousand..... }
- Sauccers Ditto Twenty Thousand..... 20000
- 13 Cups Blue and white the same size with edge } 30000
brown different Patterns Thirty Thousand..... }
- Sauccers Ditto Thirty Thousand..... 30000
- Cups a size bigger, of different patterns Twenty Thou } 20000
sand..... }
- Sauccers Ditto Twenty Thousand..... 20000
Ditto size bigger than the last of different Patterns of Cups & Sauccers each Twenty Thou } 40000
- 14 Stop Basons a pint & half each variety of paint half with } 5000
half plain, blue & white Two Thousand..... }

Ditto

List of Goods to be provided at Canton for the *Loyal Blisse*

(336)

- Ditto Basons in Colours Three Thousand* ----- 3000
- 15 *Dishes* --- Five in a Nest the Pattern the least to be painted
of variety of Colours & paints Four hundred Nests. } 4000
- 16 *Sugar Potts with Covers Two in a Nest the Pattern to be the*
least Two Thousand & Nests ----- } 2000
- 17 *Deep Square Small Dishes or Patty pans according to the*
Pattern in Tin for the Tea Potts to stand on & to
be Painted and coloured as the Tea Potts, Blue
and white Two Thousand ----- } 2000

Ditto --- in Colours Two Thousand ----- 2000

If you can't get all the sorts of China ware or the full quantities of each sort above mentioned get as many of them as you can If you can't get the sorts exactly according to the Patterns get them as near as you can

If any Japanunks are at Canton while you are there which have Japan earthen ware they may buy some of the above sorts or pretty near them but buy none that are large Pieces such as Tea Bakers or great dishes or Bowls

Bring home the Patterns of the China ware above mentioned that we may see how you have complied with them

China Raw Silk If to be procured of the same sort and
goodness as the Pattern A of three Mesp and
at One hundred and Fifty Tals the Peul or rather
under for that Silk cost but One hundred Twen- } 30000
ty five Tals and has cost less, Then One hundred
& Fifty Chests or Bounds Thirty Thousand -----

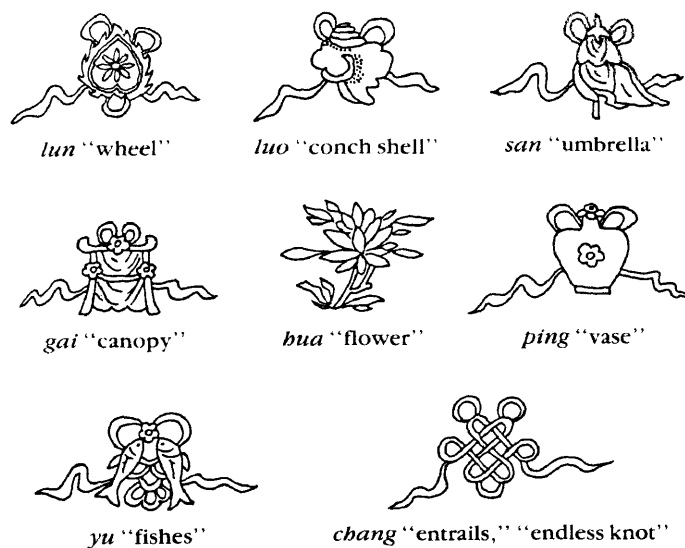
Note if you can get the same sort of Silk tho it should be made up in four Mesp or more yet bring it -

If you can't get all of the said sort then buy up as much of the sort of the Pattern B as will make it up One hundred and Fifty Chests But if you should get none of the A we would not have above One hundred Chests of the sort of Silk N^o B and not

Appendix C:

Common motifs on Chinese porcelain:

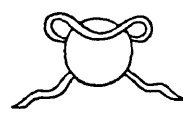
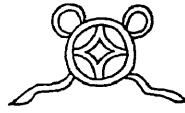
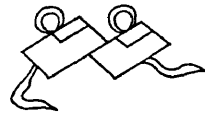
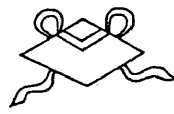
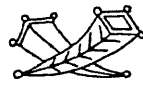
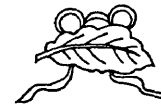
The following four pages illustrate many of the hundreds of common motifs seen on eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain.



(Drawing by Robert Williams)

Eight Happy Omens (ba ji xiang)






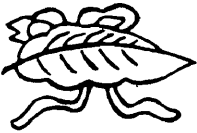


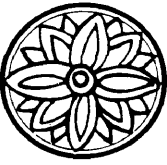
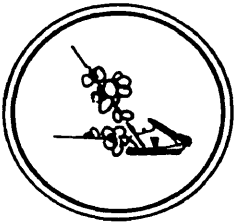
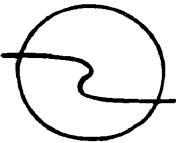







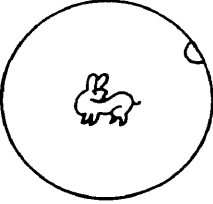

(Source: Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain in North America*).

*zhu* "jewel"*qian* "cash"*xiefang* "lozenge"*shu* "books"*hua* "painting"*qing* "chime stone"*jue* "rhinoceros horn cups"*ai ye* "artemesia leaf"





















(Drawing by Robert Williams)

Eight Precious Objects (ba bao)

(Source: Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain in North America*).

			
1800. Lotus	1801. Lotus	1802. Lotus symbol	1803. Lotus symbol
			
1804. Artemesia leaf	1805. Artemesia leaf	1806. Flower	1807. Flower
			
1808. Flower symbol	1809. Spray of plum blossom	1810. Moon	1811. Sacred Fungus
			
1812. Peaches and bat	1813. Bamboo	1814. Grain stalks	1815. Sacred Fungus
			
1816. Sacred Fungus	1817. Conch shell	1818. Moon hare	1819. Hare

(Source: Davison, *The Handbook of Marks on Chinese Ceramics*).

			
1820. Hare	1821. Stork	1822. Stork	1823. Bat
			
1824. Fly	1825. Pair of fish	1826. Mandarin mark of honour	1827. <i>Ruyi</i>
			
1828. Endless Knot	1829. <i>Fu</i> symbol	1830. Swastika in a lozenge	1831. Swastika
			
1832. Brush, inkcake and <i>ruyi</i> sceptre	1833. <i>Ding</i> incense burner	1834. <i>Ding</i> incense burner	1835. <i>Ding</i> incense burner
			
1836. Symbol representing <i>shou</i>	1837. Symbol representing <i>shou</i>	1838. Symbol representing <i>shou</i>	1839. Symbol representing <i>shou</i>

(Source: Davison, *The Handbook of Marks on Chinese Ceramics*).

Appendix D:

Chinese Dynasties and Imperial Reign Marks:

The following three pages detail the time periods and durations of the Chinese dynastic periods and illustrate the dynastic marks encountered on Chinese porcelains. The first set of dynastic marks are in the typical *kaishu* script, while the second set of marks are in the *zhuanshu* seal form.

豐年製 大宋元	年製 洪武	年製 永樂	德年製 大明宣
1. Yuanfeng (1078-85)	2. Hongwu (1368-98)	3. Yongle (1403-24)	4. Xuande (1426-35)
化年製 大明成	年製 成化	治年製 大明弘	德年製 大明正
5. Chenghua (1465-87)	6. Chenghua (1465-87)	7. Hongzhi (1488-1505)	8. Zhengde (1506-1521)
靖年製 大明嘉	慶年製 大明隆	曆年製 大明萬	啟年製 大明天
9. Jiajing (1522-66)	10. Longqing (1567-72)	11. Wanli (1573-1619)	12. Tianqi (1621-27)
年製 崇禎	治年製 大清順	熙年製 大清康	正年製 大清雍
13. Chongzhen (1628-44)	14. Shunzhi (1644-61)	15. Kangxi (1662-1722)	16. Yongzheng (1723-35)
御製 雍正	隆年製 大清乾	年製 嘉慶	光年製 大清道
17. Yongzheng (1723-35)	18. Qianlong (1736-95)	19. Jiaqing (1796-1820)	20. Daoguang (1821-50)

(Source: Davison, *The Handbook of Marks on Chinese Ceramics*).



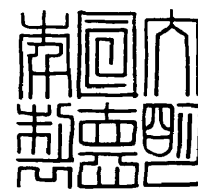
1608. Jingde
(1004-07)



1609. Hongwu
(1368-98)



1610. Yongle
(1403-24)



1611. Xuande
(1426-35)



1612. Chenghua
(1465-87)



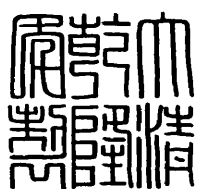
1613. Shunzhi
(1644-61)



1614. Kangxi
(1662-1722)



1615. Yongzheng
(1723-35)



1616. Qianlong
(1736-95)



1617. Qianlong
(1736-95)



1618. Qianlong
(1736-95)



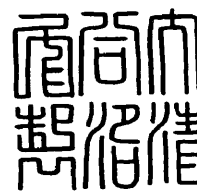
1619. Jiaqing
(1796-1820)



1620. Daoguang
(1821-50)



1621. Xianfeng
(1851-61)



1622. Tongzhi
(1862-74)



1623. Guangxu
(1875-1908)



1624. Hongxian
(1916)

(Source: Davison, *The Handbook of Marks on Chinese Ceramics*).

Chinese Dynasties and Imperial Reign Periods

Shang	c1500 - 1028 BC
Zhou	c1028 - 221 BC
Warring States	480 - 221 BC
Qin	221 - 206 BC
Han	206 BC - AD 220
The Three Kingdoms and Northern and Southern Dynasties	221 - 581
Sui	581 - 618
Tang	618 - 906
The Five Dynasties	907 - 960
Liao	907 - 1124
Song	960 - 1279
Northern Song	960 - 1127
Southern Song	1128 - 1279
Jin	1115 - 1234
Yuan	1260 - 1368
Ming	1368 - 1644
Hongwu	1368 - 1398
Jianwen	1399 - 1402
Yongle	1403 - 1424
Hongxi	1425
Xuande	1426 - 1435
Zhengtong	1436 - 1449
Jingtai	1450 - 1457
Tianshun	1457 - 1464
Chenghua	1465 - 1487
Hongzhi	1488 - 1505
Zhengde	1506 - 1521
Jiajing	1522 - 1566
Longqing	1567 - 1572
Wanli	1573 - 1619
Taichang	1620
Tianqi	1621 - 1627
Chongzhen	1628 - 1644
Qing	1644 - 1911
Shunzhi	1644 - 1661
Kangxi	1662 - 1722
Yongzheng	1723 - 1735
Qianlong	1736 - 1795
Jiaqing	1796 - 1820
Daoguang	1821 - 1850
Xianfeng	1851 - 1861
Tongzhi	1862 - 1874
Guangxu	1875 - 1908
Xuantong	1909 - 1911
Republic	1911 -
Hongxian (Yuan Shikai)	1915 - 1916

(Source: Davison, *The Handbook of Marks on Chinese Ceramics*).

Appendix E:

John Greenhow *Broadside*:

During the eighteenth-century Williamsburg merchant John Greenhow distributed advertisements called "broadside". This example, distributed by Colonial Williamsburg in the reconstructed Greenhow store, near Bruton Parish church dates to the 1760's. From this broadside it is evident that John Greenhow sold many commodities of the China trade in addition to porcelain.

Just Imported from *LONDON*²²⁷

And to be sold by

JOHN GREENHOW, at his Store near the Church in *Williamsburg*
for ready money only,

VIZ.

WHITE Callico
Irish Linnens
Blue Cotton
Red ditto
Stuffs of different Kinds for
womens gowns
Cruels and Marking Canvas
Handkerchiefs, blue
Handkerchiefs, red
Blankets of all sorts & sizes
Wool cloaks
Ready made shirts
Fine mens stockings, blue
Ditto, brown
Ditto, red
Ditto, white
Haberdathery
Single and double Bed Blankets
Fashionable mens and boys hats
Low priced Hats
Fine Night Caps
Feathers for Ladies Hats
Blue feathers
White feathers
Ostrich feathers
Latest fashion aprons, plain
Ditto, check'd
A very complete assortment of caps,
in the newest taste
Steel Scissars
Scissar snuffers
Laces of all Kinds
Livery lace
Variety of figured ribands
Variety of plain ditto
Trimming for Ladies gowns
Shirt and Waist Coat Buttons
Gilt and several other sorts of
fashionable Buttons
A very fancy assortment of
paper boxes
Baskets
Wool cards
Smoothing irons
Milliners common needles
Fine Needles and Pins
Needle cases
Silver Thimbles
Superfine Hyson, Darjeeling,
and Oolong Teas
Genuine fresh drugs
Sugar, refined
Cinnamon, Cloves, and Nutmegs
Figs
Confectionary of all sorts
Mixed sweetmeats
Brown Sugar Candy
White Sugar Candy
Black Pepper, Ginger, Fennel
Almonds
Ponchefract cakes
Fine Chocolate
Candied Almonds
Licorice

Raisins of the sun
All Sorts of Spiceries
A considerable assortment of
flower roots
Mixed tulip roots
Anemoni
Fine large hyacinths
Double polyanthus narcissus
Crocus, blue and yellow
Best London Calf Leather
Leather of all kinds
Pigtail and cut Tobacco
Plain combs of all Sorts
Horn combs
Plain fans
All sorts of wedding fans
Mortars and Pestles
Elegant snuff boxes
House bells
Candlesticks
Brass desk furniture
Candles, dipped
Ditto, mould
Myrtle wax
Toys of various sorts
Dice and Boxes
Undressed Dolls
Dressed Dolls
Babies of all prices
Variety of Queen's china for
children, sets complete
Whistles for Children
Instructions for the Tin Whistle
Blank Books unruled of all sizes
Memorandum books
A variety of children's books
Various other books and stationary
Slates and pencils
Paper of all sorts & sizes
Fine Prints by Bowles
Fine Prints by Hogarth
Playing Cards
Ink-Powder
Pencils
Inkstands
Dutch Quills
Sealing Wax
Seals of all kinds
Fishing hooks
Powder flasks
Borax
Brooms
Most sorts of nails
Pumice and rotten stone
Emery
Files of all sorts and sizes
Chizells
Pewter, all kinds
Hardware, large assortment
Tin sheats
Wire
Pewter plates, dishes, basons,
and spoons of hard and common
metal

Small and large tin Funnels
Wooden handled knives
Empty canisters
Woodenware
Hard metal plates and dishes
Tinware
Coffee-pots
Lanthorns
Mugs
Tinder-boxes
Iron kettles
Iron backs and dogs
Polishing powders
Silvermiths casting Sand
Great variety of glass, tin
and stoneware
Crates of earthenware
All sorts of China Ware
Large, noble and rich Chinese Bowls
Delft Wares of most sorts
China tea cups and saucers
Stoneware sauce boats
Mugs
Bowls of all sizes
Coffee
Seeds
Globe amaranth, viola tricolor,
and dianthus
caraway, dill, fennel,
marjoram, basil, savory
Spice boxes
Split pease
Oats
Coarse salt in bags
Large Quantity of the best Flour
Few cases of preserv'd fruits
Rice
Pickling Jars of all Sorts
for Family Use
Sponges
Glass Bottles
Bottle Corks
Wash balls
Soap
Best painted floor cloths
Tools of almost every occupation
Garden tools
Wooden garden rakes
Bird bottles
Window glass of all sizes
Hand Lanthorns
Looking glasses of all sizes
All sorts of cast iron
Iron of all kinds
Trivets
Shutter dogs
Hooks
Pipe Kilns
Skewer Racks and skewers
Coopers, Carpenters, Smiths
and masons Tools of all Kinds
Most sorts of materials for
tradesmen and many hundred
other useful articles

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